An Account of the

GROWTH

OF

POPERY,

AND

Arbitrary Government

IN

ENGLAND.

More [illegible]ly, from the Long Prorogation, [illegible] 1675. Ending the 15th. of February 1676, till the Last Meeting of Parliament, the 16th. of July 1677.

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An account of the Growth of POPERY, and Arbitrary Government in England, &c.

THere has now for diverse Years, a design been carried on, to change the Lawfull Government of *England* into an Absolute Tyranny, and to convert the established Protestant Religion into downright Popery: than both which, nothing can be more destructive or contrary to the Interest and Happiness, to the Constitution and Being of the King and Kingdom.

For if first we consider the State, the Kings of *England* Rule not upon the same terms with those of our neighbour Nations, who, having by force or by address usurped that due share which their People had in the Government, are now for some Ages in possession of an Arbitrary Power (which yet no Precipice can make Legall) and exercise it over their persons and estates in a most Tyrannical manner. But here the Subjects retain their proportion in the Legislature; the very meanest Commoner of *England* is represented in *Parliament*, and is a party to those Laws by which the Prince is sworn to Govern himself and his people.

No Mony is to be levied but by the common consent. No man is for Life, Limb, Goods, or Liberty at the Soveraigns discretion: but we have the same Right (modestly understood) in our Propriety that the Prince hath in his Regality; and in all Cases where the King is concerned, we have our just remedy as against any private person of the neighbourhood, in the Courts of *Westminster* Hall or in the High Court of *Parliament*. His very Prerogative is no more then what the Law has determined. His Broad Seal, which is the Legitimate stamp of his pleasure, yet is no longer currant, than upon the Trial it is found to be Legal. He cannot commit any person by his particular warrant. He cannot himself be witnesse in any cause: the Ballance of Publick Justice being so dellicate, that not the hand only but even the breath of the Prince would turn the scale. Nothing is left to the Kings will, but all is subjected to his Authority: by which means it follows that he can do no wrong, nor can he receive wrongs; and a King of *England*, keeping to these measures, may without arrogance be said to remain the onely Intelligent Ruler over a Rational People. In recompense therefore and acknowledgment of so good a Government under his influence, his Person is most sacred and inviolable; and whatsoever excesses are committed against so high a trust, nothing of them is imputed to him, as being free from the necessity or temptation, but his Ministers only are accountable for all and must answer it at their perills. He hath a vast Revenue constantly arising from the Hearth of the Housholder, the Sweat of the Labourer, the Rent of the Farmer, the Industry of the Merchant, and consequently out of the Estate of the Gentleman: a larg competence to defray the ordinary expense of the Crown, and maintain its lustre. And if any extraordinary occasion happen, or be but with any probable decency pretended, the whole Land at whatsoever season of the year does yield him a plentifull Harvest. So forward are his Peoples affections to give even

to superfluity, that a Forainer (or English man that hath been long abroad) would think they could neither will nor chuse, but that the asking of a supply, were a meer formality, it is so readily granted. He is the Fountain of all Honour, and has moreover the distribution of so many profitable Offices of the Houshold, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, of the Navy (and, since his persent *Majesties* time, of the Army) that it seems as if the Nation could scarse furnish honest men enow to supply all those imployments. So that the Kings of *England* are in nothing inferiour to other Princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects: But have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own Virtue and so reward and incourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer in Government to the Divine Perfection, then where the Monarch, as with us, injoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to all that is evil.

And as we are thus happy in the Constitution of our State, so are we yet more blessed in that of our Church; being free from that *Romish* Yoak, which so great a part of Christendome do yet draw and labour under, That Popery is such a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be called a Religion: nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used, in speaking of the differences of humane opinion about Divine Matters. Were it either open Judaisme, or plain Turkery, or honest Paganisme, there is yet a certain *Bona fides* in the most extravagant Belief, and the sincerity of an erroneous Profession may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatsoever is most ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated with more peculiar absurdityes of its own, in which those were deficient; and all this delibe-rately contrived, knowingly carried on by the bold impostures of Priests under the name of Christianity. The wisdom of this fifth Religion, this last and insolentest attempt upon

upon the credulity of mankind seems to me (though not ignorant otherwise of the times, degrees and methods of its progresse) principally to have consisted in their owning the Scriptures to be the word of God, and the Rule of Faith and Manners, but in prohibiting of the same time their common use, or the reading of them in publick Churches but in a *Latine* translation to the vulgar: there being no better or more rational way to fruſtrate the very design of the great Institutor of Christianity, who first planted it by the extraordinary gift of Tongues, then to forbid the use even of the ordinary languages. For having thus a book which is universally avowed to be of Divine Authority, but sequestring it only into such hands as were intrusted in the cheat, they had the opportunity to vitiate, suppresse, or interpret to their own profit those Records by which the poor People hold their salvation. And this necessary point being once gained, there was thence forward nothing so monstrous to reason, so abhorring from morality, or so contrary to scripture which they might not in prudence adventure on. The Idolatry (for alas it is neither better nor worse) of adoring and praying to Saints and Angels, of worshipping Pictures, Images and Reliques, Incredible Miracles and plapable Fables to promote that veneration. The whole Liturgy and Worship of the Blessed Virgin. The saying of *Pater Nosters* and Creeds, to the honour of Saints, and of *Ave Mary's* too, not to her honour, but of others. The Publick Service, which they can spare to God among so many competitors, in an unknown tongue; and intangled with such Vestments, Consecrations, Exorcismes, Whisperings, Sprinklings, Censings, and Phantastical Rites, Gesticulations, and Removals, so unbeseeming a Christian Office, that it represents rather the pranks and ceremonyes of Juglers and Conjurers. The Refusal of the Cup to the Laity. The necessity of the Priests Intention to make any of their Sacraments effectual. Debarring their Clergy from Marriage. Interdicting of Meats

Meats. Auricular Confession and Absolution, as with them practised. Penances, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead. But above all their other devices, that Transubstantiall solaciſme, whereby that glorified Body, which at the same time they allow to be in Heaven, is sold again and crucifyed daily upon all the Altars of their Communion. For God indeed may now and then do a Miracle, but a Romiſh Prieſt can, it seems, work in one moment a thousand Impoſſibilityes. Thus by a new and antiſcriptural Belief, compiled of Terrours to the Phanſy, Contradictions to Senſe, and Impoſitions on the Underſtanding, their Laity have turned Tenants for their Souls, and in conſequence Tributary for their Eſtates to a more then omnipotent Prieſthood.

I muſt indeed do them that right to avow that, out of an equitable conſideration and recompenſe of ſo faithfull a ſlavery, they have diſcharged the People from all other ſervices and dependance, infranchiſed them from all duty to God or Man; inſomuch that their ſeverer and more learned Divines, their Governors of Conſcience, have ſo well inſtructed them in all the arts of Circumventing their neighbour, and of colluding with Heaven, that, were the ſcholars as apt as their teachers, their would have been long ſince an end of all either true Piety, or common Honeſty; and nothing left among them but authorized Hypocriſy, Licentiouſneſſe and Knavery: had not the naturall worth of the better ſort, and the Good ſimplicity of the meaner, in great meaſure preſerved them. For nothing indeed but an extraordinary temper and ingenuity of ſpirit, and that too aſſiſted by a diviner influence, could poſſibly reſtrain thoſe within any the termes of Laws of humanity, who at the ſame time own the Doctrine of their Caſuiſts of the Authority of the Pope, as it is by him claimed and exerciſed. He by his Indulgences delivers ſoules out of the paines of the other world: So that who would refuſe to be vicious here, upon ſo good

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security. He by his dispensation annuls Contracts betwixt man and man, dissolves Oaths between Princes, or betwixt them and their People, and gives allowance in cases which God and nature prohibits. He, as Clerk of the spirituall Market, hath set a rate upon all crimes: the more flagitious they are and abominable, the better Commodities, and men pay onely an higher price as for greater raritys. So that it seemes as if the commands of God had been invented meerly to erect an Office for the Pope; the worse Christians men are, the better Customers; and this *Rome* does by the same policy people its Church, as the Pagan *Rome* did the City, by opening a sanctuary to all Malefactors. And why not, if his Power be indeed of such virtue and extent as is by him chalenged? That he is the Ruler over Angels, Purgatory and Hell. That his Tribunal and Gods are all one. That all that God, he can do; *Clave non errante*, and what he does is as God and not as man. That he is the Universall Head of the Church, The sole Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversy. That he is above Generall Councils. That his Power is Absolute, and his Decrees Infallible. That he can change the very nature of things, making what is Just to be Unjust, and what is Vice to be Virtue. That all Laws are in the Cabinet of his Breast. That he can Dispence with the new Testment to the great injury of the Divels. That he is still Monarch of this World, and that he can dispose of Kingdoms and Empires as he pleases. Which things being granted, that stile of *Optimum, Maximum & supremum numen in terris*, or that of *Dominus, Deus noster, Papa*, was no such extraordinary stroke of Courtship as we reckoned: but it was rather a great clownishness in him that created so mighty a Prince under the simple Title of *Vice-Deus*. The exercise of his Dominion is in all points suitable to this his Pretence. He antiquates the precepts of *Christ* as things only of good advice, not commanded: but makes it a mortall sin even to doubt of any part of his own Religion,

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and demands under paine of damnation the subjection of all Christians to his Papal Authority: the denying of two things so reasonable as blind obedience to this Power, and an Implicite Faith to his Doctrine, being the most unpardonable crime, under his Dispensation. He has indeed of late been somewhat more retentive then formerly as to his faculty of disposing of Kingdomes, the thing not having succeeded well with him in some instances: but he layes the same claim still, continues the same inclination, and though velvet headed hath the more itch to be pushing. And however in order to any occasion he keeps himself in breath always by cursing one Prince or other upon every Maunday Thusday: Nor is their any, whether Prince or Nation, that dissents from his Usurpations, but are marked out under the notion of *Hereticks* to ruine and destruction whensoever he shall give the signal. That word of *Heresy* misapplyed, hath served him for so many Ages to Justify all the Executions, Assassinations, Warrs, Massacres, and Devastations, whereby his Faith hath been Propagated; of which our times also have not wanted examples, and more is to be expected for the future. For by how much any thing is more false and unreasonble, it requires more cruelty to establish it: and to introduce that which is absurd, there must be somwhat done that is barbarous. But nothing of any sect in Religion can be more recommended by all these qualityes then the Papacy. The *Pagans* are excusable by their natural darkness, without Revelation. The *Jewis* are tolerable, who see not beyond the Old Testament. *Mahomet* was so honest as to own what he would be at, that he himself was the greatest Prophet, and that his was a Religion of the Sword. So that these were all, as I may say, of another Allegiance and if Enemys, yet not Traytors. But the Pope avowing Christianity by profession doth in Doctrine and practise renounce it: and presuming to be the only Catholick, does persecute those to

the death who dare worship the Author of their Religion instead of his pretended Vicegerent.

And yet there is nothing more evident, notwithstanding his most notorious forgeries and falsification of all Writers, then that the Pope was for severall Hundred of Years an honest Bishop as other men are, and never so much as dreamed upon the Seven Hills of that universal power which he is now come to: nay was the first that opposed any such pretension. But some of them at last, growing wiser, by foisting a counterfeit Donation of *Constantine*, and wresting another Donation from our Saviour, advanced themselves in a weak, ignorant, and credulous Age, to that Temporal and Spiritual Principality that they are now seised of. *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Never was a Bishoprick and a Verse of Scripture so improved by good management. Thus, by enrolling in the quality of Christs Vicar the publick function under an invisible Prince, the Pope, like the Maires of the Palace, hath set his master aside and delivered the Government over to a new Line of Papal Succession. But who can, unlesse wilfully, be ignorant what wretched doings, what Bribery, what Ambition there are; how long the Church is without an Head upon every Vacancy, till among the crew of lowsying Cardinals the Holy Ghost have declared for a Pope of the *French* or *Spanish* Faction. It is a succession like that of the *Egyptian Ox* (the living Idol of this Country) who dying or being made away by the Priests, there was a solemn and general mourning for want of a Deity; untill in their Conclave they had found out another Beast with the very same marks as the former, whom then they themselves adored and with great Jubilee brought forth to the People to worship. Nor was this Election a greater reproach to humane Reason then this is to Christianity. Surely it is the greatest Miracle of the Romish Church that it should still continue, and that in all this time the Gates of Heaven should not prevaile against it.

It is almost unconceivable how Princes can yet suffer a Power so pernicious, and Doctrine so destructive to all Government. That so great a part of the Land should be alienated and condemned to, as they call it, Pious Uses. That such millions of their People as the Clergy, should, by remaining unmarryed, either frustrate humane nature if they live chastly, or, if otherwise, adulterate it. That they should be priviledged from all labour, all publick service, and exempt from the power of all Secular Jurisdiction. That they, being all bound, by strict Oaths and Vows of Obedience to the *Pope*, should evacuate the Fealty due to the Soveraign. Nay, that not only the Clergy but their whole People, if of the *Romish* perswasion, should be obliged to rebel at any time upon the *Popes* pleasure. And yet how many of the Neighbouring Princes are content, or do chuse to reign, upon those conditions; which being so dishonorable and dangerous, surely some great and more weighty reason does cause them submit to. Whether it be out of personal fear, having heard perhaps of several attempts which the blind obedience of *Popish Zealots* hath executed against their Princes. Or, whether aiming at a more absolute and tyrannical Government, they think it full to be the case of *Bonifface* and *Phocas* (an usurping Emperour and an usurping Bishop) and that, as other Cheats, this also is best to be managed by Confederacy. But, as farre as I can apprehend, there is more of Sloth then Policy on the Princes side in this whole matter: and all that pretense of inslaving men by the assistance of Religion more easily, is neither more nor lesse then when the *Bramins*, by having the first night of the Bride assures himself of her devotion for the future, and makes her more fit for the husband.

This reflection upon the state of our Neighbours, in aspect to Religion, doth sufficiently illustrate our happinesse, and spare me the labour of describing it further, then by the Rule of Contraryes: Our Church standing upon all points

in a direct opposition to all the forementioned errours. Our Doctrine being true to the Principles of the first Christian institution, and Episcopacy being formed upon the Primitive Model, and no Ecclesiastical Power jostling the Civil, but all concurring in common obedience to the Soveraign. Nor therefore is their any, whether Prince or Nation, that can with less probability be reduced back to the *Romish* perswasion, than ours of *England*.

For, if first we respect our Obedience to God, what appearance is there that, after so durable and general an enlightning of our minds with the sacred Truth, we should again put out our own Eyes, to wander thorow the palpable darkness of that gross Superstition? But forasmuch as most men are less concern'd for their Interest in Heaven than on Earth, this seeming the nearer and more certain, on this account also our alteration from the *Protestant Religion* is the more impossible. When beside the common ill examples and consequences of *Popery* observable abroad, whereby we might grow wise at the expense of our Neighbours, we cannot but reflect upon our own Experiments at home, which would make even fools docible. The whole Reign of *Queen Mary*, in which the *Papists* made Fewel of the *Protestants*. The Excommunicating and Deprivation of *Queen Elizabeth* by the *Pope*, pursued with so many Treasons and attempts upon her Person, by her own Subjects, and the Invasion in *Eighty-Eight* by the *Spanish*. The two *Breves* of the *Pope*, in order to exclude King *James* from the Succession to the Crown, seconded by the *Gunpowder-Treason*. In the time of his late Majesty, King *Charles* the first, (besides what they contributed to the Civil War in *England*) the Rebellion and horrid Massacre in *Ireland*, and, which was even worse than that, their pretending that it was done by the Kings Commission, and vouching the *Broad Seal* for their Authority. The *Popes Nuncio* assuming nevertheless and exercising there the Temporal as well as Spiritual Pow-

er, granting out Commissions under his own Hand, breaking the Treaty of Peace between the King, and, as they then styled themselves, the *Confederate Catholicks*; leading two Armies against the *Marquess* of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, and forcing him at last to quit the Kingdom: all which ended in the Ruine of his Majesties Reputation, Government, and Person; which but upon occasion of that Rebellion, could never have happened. So that we may reckon the Reigns of our late Princes, by a succession of the *Popish Treasons* against them. And, if under his present Majesty we have as yet seen no more visible effects of the same spirit than the *Firing* of *London* (acted by *Hubert*, hired by *Fiddelon* two *French-men*) which remains a Controversie, it is not to be attributed to the good nature or better Principles of that Sect, but to the wisdom of his *Holyness*; who observes that we are not of late so dangerous *Protestants* as to deserve any special mark of his Indignation, but that we may be made better use of to the weakning of those that are of our own Religion, and that if he do not disturbe us, there are those among our selves, that are leading us into a fair way of Reconciliation with him.

But those continued fresh Instances, in relation to the Crown, together with the *Popes* claim of the Temporal and immediate Dominion of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which he does so challenge, are a sufficient caution to the Kings of *England*, and of the People, there is as little hopes to seduce them, the *Protestant Religion* being so interwoven as it is with their Secular Interest. For the Lands that were formerly given to superstitious uses, having first been applyed to the Publick Revenue, and afterwards by severall Alienations and Contracts distributed into private possession, the alteration of Religion would necessarily introduce a change of Property. *Nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesiæ*, it would make a general Earth-quake over the nation, and even now the *Romish* Clergy on the other side of the

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water, snuffe up the savoury odour of so many rich *Abbies* and *Monasteries* that belonged to their redemcions. Hereby no considerably Estate in *England* but must have a piece torn out of it upon the Title of Piety, and the rest subject to be wholly forfeited upon the account of *Heresy*. Another *Chimny money* of the old *Peter pence* must again be payed, as tribute to the Pope, beside that which is established on his Majesty: and the People, instead of those moderate Tithes that are with too much difficulty payed to their Protestant Pastors, will be exposed to all the exactions, of the Court of *Rome*, and a thousand artifices by which in former times they were used to draine away the wealth of ours more then any other Nation. So that in conclusion, there is no *Englishman* that hath a Soul, a Body, or an Estate to save, that Loves either God, his King, or his Country, but is by all those Tenures bound, to the best of his Power and Knowledge, to maintaine the established *Protestant Religion*.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, there are those men among us, who have undertaken, and do make it their businesse, under so Legal and perfect a Government, to introduce a *French* slavery, and instead of so pure a Religion, to establish the *Roman* Idolatry: both and either of which are Crimes of the Highest nature. For, as to matter of Government, if to murther the King be, as certainly it is, a Fact so horred, how much more heinous is it to assassinate the Kingdome? And as none will deny, that to alter our *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth* were *Treason*, so by the same Fundamentall Rule, the Crime is no lesse to make that *Monarchy Absolute*.

What is thus true in regard of the State, holds as well in reference to our Religion. Former Parliaments have made it Treason in whosoever shall attempt to seduce any one, the meaneſt of the Kings subjects, to the Church of *Rome*: And this Parliament hath, to all penalties by the Common or Statute Law, added incapacity for any man who shall presume

sume to say that the King is a Papist or an Introducer of Popery. But what lawless and inexcusable miscreants then, what wicked Traytors are those wretched men, who endevour to pervert our whole Church, and to bring that about in effect, which even to mention is penal, at one *Italian* stroke attempting to subvert the Government and Religion, to kill the Body and damn the Soul of our Nation.

Yet were these men honest old Cavaliers that had suffered in his late Majesties service, it were allowable in them, as oft as their wounds brake out at Spring or Fall, to think of a more Arbitrary Government, as a Soveraign Balsom for their Aches, or to imagine that no Weapon-salve but of the Moss that grows on an Enemies Skul could cure them. Should they mistake this Long *Parliament* also for Rebells, and that, although all Circumstances be altered, there were still the same necessity to fight it all over again in pure Loyalty, yet their Age and the Times they have lived in, might excuse them. But these worthy Gentlemen are too Grave, too good Christians and Subjects, too affectionate to the good *English* Government, to be capable of such an Impression. Whereas these Conspirators are such as have not one drop of *Cavalier* blood, or no *Brands* at least of a *Cavalier* in them; but have starved them, to Revel and Surfet upon their Calamities, making their Perfons, and the very Cause, by pretending to it themselves, almost Ridiculous.

Or, were these *Conspirators* on the other side but avowed *Papists*, they were the more honest, the less dangerous, and the Religion were safe enough for all Treasons they might commit in order to promote it. Who is there but must acknowledge, if he do not consider the Ingenuity (or by what better Name I may call it) of the *Duke of Richmond*, Lord *Bellasis*, the late Lord *Clifford* and others, eminent in their several Stations? These, having so long appeared the most zealous Sons of our Church, yet, so soon as the Test

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Test against Popery was inacted, tooke up the Crosse, quitted their present imployments and all hopes of the future, rather then falsify their opinion: though otherwise men for Quality, Estate and Abilityes whether in Warre or Peace, as capable and well deserving (without disparagement) as others that have the art to continue in Offices. And above all his Royal Highnesse is to be admired for his unparallelled magnanimity on the same account: there being in all history perhaps no Record of any Prince that ever changed his Religion in his circumstances. But these persons, that have since taken the worke in hand, are such as ly under no temptation of Religion: secure men, that are above either Honour or Conscience; but obliged by all the most sacred tyes of Malice and Ambition to advance the ruine of the King and Kingdome, and qualified much better then others, under the name of good Protestants, to effect it.

And because it was yet difficult to find Complices enough at home, that were ripe for so black a deling, but they wanted a Back for their Edge; therefore they applyed themselves to *France*, that King being indowed with all those qualityes, which in a Prince may passe for Vertues, but in any private man, would be capital; and moreover so abounding in wealth that no man else could go to the price of their wickednesse: To which Considerations, adding that he is the Master of *Absolute Dominion*, the *Presumptive Monarch* of *Christendom*, the declared *Champion* of *Popery*, and the hereditary, natural, inveterate *Enemy* of our *King* and *Nation*, he was in all respects the most likely (of all Earthly Powers) to reward and support them in a Project every way suitable to his one Inclination and Interest.

And now, should I enter into a particular recital of all former and latter Transactions relating to this affaire, there would be sufficient for a just Volume of History. But my intention is onely to write a naked Narrative of some the most considerable passages in the meeting of *Parliament* for

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the 15 of *Febr.* 1676. Such as have come to my notice which may serve for matter to some stronger Pen and to such as have more leisure and further opportunity to discover and communicate to the Publick. This in the mean time will by the Progresse made in so few weeks, demonstrate at what rate these men drive over the necks of King and People, of Religion and Government; and how near they are in all humane probability, to arrive Triumphant at the end of their Journey. Yet, that I may not be too abrupt, and leave the Reader wholly destitute of a thread to guide himself by thorow so intriguing a Labyrinth, I shall summarily as short, as so copious and redundant a matter will admit, deduce the order of affaires both at home and abroad, as it led into this Session.

It is well known, were it as well remembred, what the provocation was, and what the successe of the warre begun by the *English* in the Year 1665. against *Holland*: what vast supplyes were furnished by the Subject for defraying it, and yet after all. no Fleet set out, but the Flower of all the Royal Navy burnt or taken in Port to save charges. How the *French*, during that War, joyned themselves in assistance of *Holland* against us, and yet, by the credit he had with the Queen Mother, so farre deluded his Majesty, that upon assurance the *Dutch* neither would have any Fleet out that year, he forbore to make ready, and so incurred that notable losse, and disgrace at *Chatham*. How (after this fatall conclusion of all our Sea-*Champaynes*) as we had been obliged to the *French* for that warre, so we were glad to receive the Peace from his favour which was agreed at *Breda* betwixt *England*, *France*, and *Holland*.

His Majesty was hereby now at leisure to remarke how the *French* had in the yeat 1667. taken the time of us and while we were imbroiled and weakned had in violation of all the most solemn and Sacred Oaths and Treatyes invaded and taken a great part of the *Spanish Nether-Land*, which had

alwayes been considered as the natural Frontier of *England*. And hereupon he judged it necessary to interpose, before the flame that consumed his next neighbour should throw its sparkles over the water. And therefore, generously slighting all punctilious of ceremony or peeks of animosity, where the safty of his People and the repose of Christendom were concerned, he sent first into *Holland*, inviting them to a nearer Alliance, and to enter into such further Counsells as were most proper to quiet this publick disturbance which the *French* had raised. This was a work wholy of his Majestys designing and (according to that felicity which hath allways attended him, when excluding the corrupt Politicks of others he hath followed the dictates of his own Royal wisdom) so well it succeeded. It is a thing scarse credible, though true, that two Treatyes of such weight, intricacy, and so various aspect as that of the Defensive League with *Holland*, and the other for repressing the further progresse of the *French* in the *Spanish Netherland*, should in five days time, in the year 1668. be concluded. Such was the Expedition and secrecy then used in prosecuting his Majesty particuler instructions, and so easy a thing is it for Princes, when they have a mind to it, to be well served. The *Swede* too shortly after made the third in this Concert; whether wisely judging that in the minority of their King reigning over several late acquired dominions, it was their true intrest to have an hand in all the Counsells that tended to pease and undisturbed possession, or, whether indeed those ministers, like ours, did even then project in so glorious an Alliance to betray it afterward to their own greater advantage. From their joyning in it was called the Triple Alliance. His Majesty with great sincerity continued to solicite other Princes according to the seventh Article to come into the Guaranty of this Treaty, and delighted himself in cultivating by all good means what he had planted. But in a very short time these Counsells, which had taken effect with so great satisfaction to the Nation and

to his Majestyes eternal honour, were all changed and it seemed that Treatyes, as soon as the Wax is cold, do loose their virtue. The King in *June* 1670 went down to *Dover* to meet after a long absence. *Madam*, his onely remaining sister: where the days were the more pleasant, by how much it seldomer happens to Princes then private persons to injoy their Relations, and when they do, yet their kind interviews are usually solemnized with some fatality and disaster, nothing of which here appeared. But upon her first return into *France* she was dead, the Marquess of *Belfond* was immediately sent hither, a Person, of great Honour dispatched thither: and, before ever the inquiry and grumbling at her death could be abated, in a trice there was an invisible Leagle, in prejudice of the Triple one, struck up with *France*, to all the height of dearnesse and affection. As if upon discecting the Princess there had some state Philtre been found in her bowells, or the reconciliation wiah *France* were not to be celebrated with a lesse sacrifice then of the Blood Royall of *England*. The sequel will be suitable to so ominous a begining. But, as this Treaty was a work of Darknesse and which could never yet be understood or discovered but by the effects, so before those appeared it was necessary that the Parliament should after the old wont be gulld to the giving of mony. They met the 24th *Oct.* 1670. and it is not without much labour that I have been able to recover a written Copy of the Lord *Bridgmans* speech, none being printed, but forbidden, doubtless for all so notorious a Practise as certainly was never before, though there have indeed been many, put upon the Nation, might remain publick. Although that Honourable person cannot be presumed to have been accessory to what was then intended, but was in due time, when the Project ripened and grew hopeful, discharged from his Office, and he, the Duke of *Ormond*, the late Secretary *Trevor*, with the Prince *Rupert*, discarded together out of the Committee for the *Forraign* Affaires, He spoke

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons.

WHen the two Houses were last Adjourned, this Day, as you well know, was perfixed for your Meeting again. The Proclamation since issued requiring all your attendances at the same time shewed not only his Majesties belief that his business will thrive best when the Houses are fullest, but the importance also of the Affaires for which you are so called: And important they are. You cannot be ignorant of the great Forces both for Land and Sea-service which our Neighbours of France and the Low-Countries have raised, and have now in actual Pay; nor of the great Preparations which they continue to make in Levying of Men, Building of Ships, filling their Magazines and Stores with immense quantities of all sorts of Warlike Provisions. Since the beginning of the last Dutch War, the French have increased the Greatness and Number of their Ships so much, that their Strength by Sea is thrice as much as it was before. And since the end of it, the Dutch have been very diligent also in augmenting their Fleets. In this conjuncture, when our Neighbours Arm so potently, even common prudence requires that his Majesty should make some suitable pre-

preparations; that he may at leaſt keep pace with his Neighbours, *if not out-go them in* Number *and* Strength *of* Shipping. *For this being an* Iſland, *both our* Safety, *our* Trade, *our* Being, *and our* Well-Being *depend upon our* Forces *at* Sea.

His Majeſty *therefore, of his* Princely Care *for the* Good of his People, *hath given order for the fitting out of* Fifty Sayl *of his* Greateſt Ships, *againſt the* Spring, *beſides thoſe which are to be for* Security *of our* Merchants *in the* Mediterranean: *As foreſeeing, if he ſhould not have a conſiderable* Fleet, *whilſt his* Neighbours *have ſuch* Forces *both at* Land *and* Sea, Temptation *might be given to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to give us an* Affront, *at leaſt, if not to do us a* Miſchief.

To which may be added, That his Majeſty, by the Leagues which he hath made, for the Common Peace of Chriſtendom, and the good of his Kingdoms, is obliged to a certain Number of Forces in caſe of Infraction thereof, as alſo for the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Neighbours, in caſe of Invaſion. *And his* Majeſty *would be in a very ill condition to perform his part of the* Leagues (*if whilſt the Clouds are gathering ſo thick about us*) *he ſhould, in hopes that the Wind will diſperſe them, omit to provide againſt the Storm.*

My Lords *and* Gentlemen, *Having named the*

Leagues

Leagues *made by his* Majeſty, *I think it neceſſary to put you in mind, That ſince the Cloſe of the late War, his* Majeſty *hath made ſeveral* Leagues, *to his own great* Honour, *and infinite* Advantage *to the* Nation.

One known by the Name of the *Tripple Alliance*, wherein his *Majeſty*, the Crown of *Sweden* and the *States* of the *United Provinces* are ingaged to preſerve the *Treaty* of *Aix la Capelle*, concerning a Peace between the two warring Princes, which Peace produced that effect, that it quenched the Fire which was ready to have ſet all Chriſtendom in a Flame. *And beſides other great* Benefits *by it, which ſhe ſtill enjoyes, gave opportunity to tranſmit thoſe* Forces *againſt the* Infidels, *which would otherwiſe have been imbrued in* Chriſtian Blood.

Another between his Majeſty and the ſaid States for a Mutual Aſſiſtance with a certain number of Men and Ships in caſe of Invaſion by any others.

Another between his Maieſty *and the* Duke *of* Savoy, *Eſtabliſhing a* Free Trade *for his* Majeſties Subjects *at* Villa Franca, *a* Port *of his own upon the* Mediterranean, *and through the* Dominions *of that* Prince; *and thereby opening a* Paſſage *to a Rich part of* Italy, *and part of* Germany, *which will be*

of

of a very great advantage for the Vending of Cloth and other our home Commodities, bringing back Silk and other Materials for Manifactures than here.

Another between his Majesty and the King of Denmark, whereby those other Impositions that were lately laid upon our Trade there, are taken off, and as great Priviledges granted to our Merchants, as ever they had in former Times, or as the Subjects of any other Prince or State do now enjoy.

And another League upon a Treaty of Commerce with Spain, whereby there is not only a Cessation and giving up to his Majesty of all their Pretensions to Jamaica, and other Islands and Countries in the West Indies, in the Possession of his Majesty or his Subjects, but with all, free Liberty is given to his Majesties Subjects, to enter their Ports for Victuals and Water, and safety of Harbour and Return, if Storm or other Accidents bring them thither; Priviledges which were never before granted by them to the English or any Others.

Not to mention the Leagues formerly made with Sweden and Portugal, and the Advantages which we enjoy thereby; nor those Treaties now depending between his Majesty and France, or his Majesty and the States of the United Provinces touching Commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular re-

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gard to the Honour of this Nation, and alſo to the Trade of it, which never was greater than now it is.

In a word, Almoſt all the Princes in Europe do ſeek his Majeſties Friendſhip, as acknowledging they cannot Secure, much leſs Improve their preſent condition without it.

His Majeſty is confident that you will not be contented to ſee him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his own Kingdoms, nay even to all Chriſtendom, in the Repoſe and Quiet of it. That you will not be content abroad to ſee your Neighbours ſtrengthening themſelves in Shipping, ſo much more than they were before, and at Home to ſee the Government ſtrugling every year with Difficulties; and not able to keep up our Navies equal with theirs. He findes that by his Accounts from the year 1660 to the Late War, the ordinary Charge of the Fleet Communibus annis, came to about 500000 l. a year, and it cannot be ſupported with leſs.

If that particular alone take up ſo much, add to it the other conſtant Charges of the Government, and the Revenue (although the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury have mannag'd it with all imaginable Thrift) will in no degree ſuffice to take of the Debts due upon Intereſt, much leſs give him a Fonds for the fitting out of this Fleet, which by common Eſtimation thereof can-

cannot coſt leſs than 800000 l. His Majeſty in his moſt gracious Speech, hath expreſſed the great ſence he hath of your zeal and affection for him, and as he will ever retain a grateful memory of your former readineſs to ſupply him in all Exigencies, ſo he doth with particular thanks acknowledge your frank and chearfull Gift of the New Duty upon Wines, at your laſt Meeting : But the ſame is likely to fall very ſhort in value of what it was conceived to be worth, and ſhould it have anſwered expectation, yet far too ſhort to eaſe and help him upon theſe Occaſions. And therefore ſuch a Supply as may enable him to take off his Debts upon Intereſt, and to ſet out this Fleet againſt the Spring, is that which he deſires from you, and recommends it to you, as that which concerns the Honour and Support of the Government, and the Wellfare and Safety of your Selves and the whole Kingdome.

My Lords and Gentlemen, You may perceive by what his Majeſty hath already ſaid, that he holds it requiſite that an End be put to this Meeting before Chriſtmas. It is ſo not only in reference to the Preparation for his Fleet, which muſt be in readineſs in the Spring, but alſo to the Seaſon of the Year. It is a time when you would be willing to be in your Countries, and your Neighbours would be glad to ſee you there, and partake of your Hoſpitality and Charity, and you

thereby endear your ſelves to them, and keep up that Intereſt *and* Power *among them, which is neceſſary for the ſervice of your* King *and* Country, *and a* Receſſe *at that time, leaving your buſineſs* unfiniſhed *till your* Return, *cannot either be* convenient *for you, or* ſuitable *to the condition of his* Majeſties Affaires, *which requires your* Speedy, *as well as* Affectionate Conſideration.

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There needed not be long a Catalogue of past, present and future Leagues and Treaties, for even *Villa Franca* founded so well (being besides so considerable a Port, and that too upon the *Mediterranean* (another remote word of much efficacie) and opening moreover a passage to a rich part of *Italy*, and a part of *Germany*, &c.) that it alone would have sufficed to charm the more ready Votes of the Commons into a supply, and to justifie the Necessity of it in the noise of the Country. But indeed the making of that *Tripple League*, was a thing of so good a report and so generally acceptable to the Nation, as being a hook in the *French* nostrils, that this Parliament (who are used, whether it be War or Peace, to make us pay for it) could not have desired a fairer pretence to colour their liberality.

And therefore after all the immense summs lavished in the former War with *Holland*, they had but in *April* last, 1670, given the *Additional* Duty upon Wines for 8 years; amounting to 560000 and confirmed the sale of the *Fee Farm Rents*, which was no lesse their gift, being a part of the publick Revenue, to the value of 1800001. Yet upon the telling of this Storie by the *Lord Keeper*, they could no longer hold but gave with both hands now again a Subsidy of 12. in the pound to the real value of all Lands, and other Estates proportionably, with several more beneficial Clauses into the bargaine, to begin the 24 of *June* 1671, and expire the 24 of *June* 1672. Together with this, they granted the *Additional Excise* upon *Beer, Ale, &c.* for six years, to reckon from the same 24th of *June* 1671. And lastly, the *Law Bill* commencing from the first of *May* 1671, and at nine yeares end to determine. These three Bills summed up therefore cannot be estimated at lesse than two millions and an half.

So that for the *Tripple League*, here was, also *Tripple-Supply*, and the Subject had now all reason to beleive that this Alliance, which had been fixed at first by the *Publick Interest*, *Safety* and *Honour* (yet, should any of those give way) was

by these *Three Graces*, as with three *Golden Keies*, sufficiently clenched and riveted. But now therefore was the most proper time and occasion for the Conspirators, I have before described, to give demonstration of their fidelitie to the *French King* and by the forfeiture of all these obligations to their King and Countrey, and other Princes, and at the expense of all this Treasure given to contrarie uses, to recommend themselves more meritoriously to his patronage.

The *Parliament* having once given this Mony, were in consequence Prorogued, and met not again till the 4th of *February* 1672, that there might be a competent scope for so great a work as was defined, and the Architects of our Ruine might be so long free from their busie and odious inspection till it were finished. Henceforward, all the former applications made by his Majesty to induce Forraine Princes into the *Guaranty* of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* ceased, and on the contrary, those who desired to be admitted into it, were here refused. The Duke of *Loraine*, who had alwaies been a true Freind to his Majesty, and by his affection to the *Tripple League* had incurred the *French Kings* displeasure, with the losse of his whole Territorie, seised in the year 1669, against all Laws not only of *Peace* but *Hostility*, yet was by means of these men rejected, that he might have no Intrest in the Alliance, for which he was sacrificed. Nay even the Emperour, though he did his Majesty the Honour to address voluntarily to him, that himself might be received into that *Tripple League*, yet could not so great a Prince prevail but was turned off with blind Reason, and most frivolous Excuses. So farre was it now from fortifying the Alliance by the Accession of other Princes, that Mr. *Henry Coventry* went now to *Swveden* expressly, as he affirmed at his departure hence, to dissolve the *Tripple League*. And he did so much towards it, cooperating in that Court with the *French* Ministers, that *Swveden* never (after it came to a Rupture) did assist or prosecute effectually the ends of the

Alliance,

Alliance, but only arming it ſelf at the expence of the *Leaguers* did firſt, under a diſguiſed Mediation, Act the *French Intereſt*, and at laſt threw off the *Vizard*, and drew the Sword in their Quarrel. Which is a matter of ſad reflexion, that he, who in his *Embaſſy* at *Breda*, had been ſo happy an Inſtrument to end the firſt unfortunate War with *Holland*, ſhould now be made the *Toole* of a ſecond, and of breaking that threefold Cord, by which the Intereſt of *England* and all *Chriſtendom* was faſtned. And, what renders it more wretched, is, that no man better than He underſtood both the *Theory* and *Practick* of *Honour*; and yet, cold in ſo eminent an Inſtance, forget it. All which can be ſaid in his excuſe, is, that upon his return he was for this ſervice made Secretary of State (as if to have remained the ſame *Honeſt Gentleman*, had not been more neceſſary and leſſe diſhonourable) Sir *William Lockyard* and ſeveral others were diſpatched to other Courts upon the like errand.

All things were thus farre well diſpoſed here toward a War with *Holland*: only all this while there wanted a Quarrel, and to pick one required much invention. For the *Dutch* although there was a *ſi quis* to find out complaints, and our *East India* Company was ſummoned to know whether they had any thing to object againſt them, had ſo punctually complyed with all the Conditions of the Peace at *Breda*, and obſerved his Majeſty with ſuch reſpect (and in paying the due Honour of the *Flagg* particulary as it was agreed in the 19th. Article) that nothing could be alleadged and as to the *Tripple League*, their Fleet was then out, riding near their own Coaſts, in proſecuting of the ends of that *Treaty*. Therefore, to try a new experiment and to make a Caſe which had never before happened or been imagined, a ſorry *Yatch*, but bearing the *Engliſh Jack*, in *Auguſt* 1671. Sailes into the midſt of their Fleet, ſingled out the *Admyral*, ſhooting twice, as they call it, ſharpe upon him. Which muſt ſure have appeared as ridiculous, and unnatural as for a *Larke* to dare the *Hobby*.

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Nevertheleſſe their Commander in Chief, in diſtaſte of his Majeſtys Colours, and in conſideration of the Amity betwixt the two Nations, payed our Admiral of the *Yatch* a viſit, to know the reaſon; and learning that it was becauſe he and his whole Fleet had failed to ſtrike Saile to his ſmall-craft, the *Dutch Commander* civilly excuſed it as a matter of the firſt inſtance, and in which he could have no Inſtructions, therefore proper to be referred to their Maſters, and ſo they parted. The *Yatch* having thus acquitted it ſelf, returned, fraught with the Quarrel ſhe was ſent for, which yet was for ſeveral months paſſed over here in ſilence without any Complaint or demand of ſatisfaction, but to be improved afterwards when occaſion grew ripe. For there was yet one thing more to be done at home to make us more capable of what was ſhortly after to be executed on our Neighbours.

The *Exchequer* had now for ſome years by exceſſive gain decoy'd in the wealthy *Goldſmiths*, and they the reſt of the Nation by due payment of Intereſt, till the King was run (upon what account I know not) into debt of above two Millions: which ſerved for one of the pretences in my Lord *Keepers Speech* above recited, to demand and grant the late Supplies, and might have ſufficed for that work, with peace and any tolerable good husbandry. But as if it had been perfidious to apply them to any one of the Purpoſes declared) it was inſtead of payment privately reſolved to ſhut up the *Exchequer*, leaſt any part of the money ſhould be legally expended, but that all might be appropriate to the Holy War in project, and thoſe further pious uſes to which the Conſpirators had dedicated it.

This affair was carried on with all the ſecrecy of ſo great Statesmen, that they might not by venting it unſeaſonably ſpoile the wit and malice of the buſineſs. So that all on the ſuddain, upon the firſt of *January* 167$\frac{1}{2}$, to the great aſtoniſhment, ruine and deſpaire of ſo many intereſted perſons, and to the terrour of the whole Nation, by ſo Arbitrary a

Fact,

Fact, the Proclamation issued whereby the Crown, amid'st the confluence of so vast Aides and Revenue, published it self Bankrupt, made prize of the Subject, and broke all Faith and contract at home in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.

There remained nothing now but that the Conspirators, after this exploit upon our own Countrymen, should manifest their impartiality to Forainers, and avoid on both sides the reproach of Injustice by their equality in the distribution. They had now started the dispute about the Flag upon occasion of the Yatch, and begun the discourse of *Sur-seam*, and somwhat of *Pictures* and *Medalls*, but they handled these matters so nicely as men not lesse afraid of receiving all satisfaction therein from the *Hollanders*, then of giving them any umbrage of arming against them upon those pretenses. The *Dutch* therefore, not being conscious to themselves of any provocation given to *England*, but of their readinesse, if there had been any, to repair it, and relying upon that faith of Treatyes and Alliances with us, which hath been thought sufficient security, not only amongst *Christians* but even with *Infidels*, pursued their Traffick and Navigation thorow our Seas without the least suspicion. And accordingly a great and rich Fleet of Merchantmen from *Smyrna* and *Spain*, were on their Voyage homeward near the Isle of *Wight*, under a small Convoy of five or six of their Men of War. This was the Fleet in contemplation of which the (conspirators had so long deferred the War to plunder them in peace; the wealth of this was that which by its weight turned the Ballance of all Publick Justice and Honour; with this Treasure they imagined themselves in stock for all the wickedness of which they were capable, and that they should never, after this addition, stand in need again or fear of a Parliament. Therefore they had with great diligence and expidition equipped early in the year, so many of the Kings Ships as might without jealousy of the number, yet be of compe-

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tent ſtrength for the intended action, but if any thing ſhould chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly ſupplyed by virtue of the Commander. For Sir *Robert Holmes* had with the like number of Ships in the year 1661, even ſo timely, commenced the firſt Hoſtility againſt *Holland*, in time of Peace; ſeizing upon *Cape Verde*, and other of the *Dutch-Forts* on the Coaſt of *Guiny*, and the whole *Nevv Netherlands*, with great ſucceſs: in defence of which Conqueſts, the *Engliſh* undertook, 1665, the firſt War againſt *Holand*. And in that ſame War, he with a proportionable Squadron ſignalized himſelf by burning the *Dutch* Ships and Village of *Brandaris* at *Schelling*, which was unfortunately revenged upon us at *Chatham*. So that he was pitched upon as the perſon for underſtanding, experience and courage, fitteſt for a deſign of this or any higher nature; and upon the 14th. of *March*, 1672. as they ſailed on, to the number of 72 Veſſells in all, whereof ſix the *Convoy*, near our Coaſt, he fell in upon them with his accuſtomed bravery, and could not have failed of giving a good account of them, would he but have joyned fortunes, Sr. *Edvvard Spragg* Aſiſtance to his own Conduct: For Sr. *Edvvard* was in ſight at the ſame time with his Squadron, and Captaine *Legg* making ſaile towards him, to acquaint him with the deſign, till called back by a Gun from his Admirall, of which ſeverall perſons have had their conjectures. Poſſibly Sr. *Robert Holmes*, conſidering that *Sr. Edvvard* had ſailed all along in conſort with the *Dutch* in their voyage, and did but now return from bringing the Pirates of *Algier* to reaſon, thought him not ſo proper to ingage in this enterprize before he underſtood it better. But it is rather beleived to have proceeded partly from that Jealouſy (which is uſuall to marſhal ſpirits like Sr. *Roberts*) of admitting a Companion to ſhare with him in the Spoile of Honour or Profit; and partly out of too ſtrict a regard to preſerve the ſecret of his Comtniſſion. However by this meanes the whole affair miſcarried. For the Mer-

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Men themselves, and their little Convoy did so bestir them, that Sir *Robert*, although he shifted his Ship, fell foul on his best Friends, and did all that was possible, unless he could have multiplied himself, and been every where, was forced to give it over, and all the Prize that was gotten, sufficed not to pay the Chirurgeons and Carpenters.

To descend to the very bottom of their hellish Conspiracy, there was yet one step more, that of Religion. For so pious and just an Action as Sir *Robert Holmes* was imployed upon, could not be better accompanied than by the Declaration of *Liberty of Conscience* (unless they should have expected till he had found that pretious Commodity in plundering the Hoale of some *Amsterdam* Fly-boat) Accordingly, while he was trying his Fortune in Battle with the *Smyrna* Merchant-Men, on the *thirteenth* and *fourteenth* of *March*, *One thousand six hundred seventy two*, the *Indulgence* was Printing off here in all haste, and was Published on the *fifteenth*, as a more proper means than *Fasting* and *Prayer* for propitiating Heaven to give Success to his Enterprise, and to the War that must second it.

Hereby, all the Penal *Laws* against *Papists*, for which former *Parliaments* had given so many Supplies, and against *Nonconformists*, for which this *Parliament* had payd more largly, were at one Instant Suspended, in order to defraud the Nation of all that *Religion* which they had so dearly purchased, and for which they ought at least, the Bargain being broke, to have been re-imbursed.

There is, I confess, a measure to be taken in those things, and it is indeed to the great reproach of Humane Wisdom, that no man has for so many Ages been able or willing to find out the due temper of Governments in Divine Matters. For it appears at the first sight, that men ought to enjoy the same Propriety and Protection in their Consciences, which they have in their Lives, Liberties, and Estates: But that to take away these in Penalty for the other, is sheerly a more Legal

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and Gentile way of Padding upon the Road of Natures, and that it is only for want of Money and for want of Religion that men take those deceptate Courses.

Nor can it be denied that the *original Laws* upon which Christianity at the first was founded, does indeed expresly provide against all such severity: And it was by the Humility, Meekness, Love, Forbearance and Patience which were part of that excellent Doctrine, that it became at last the Universal Religion, and can no more by any other meanes be preserved, than it is possible for another Soul to animate the same Body.

But, with shame be it spoken, the *Puritans* obliging themselves to *Liturgie* like Asses, will be loath to come back again, continued under his most rigid Discipline, above twice as long as the Christians did endure under the genteelest of all Institutions, though with far more certainty expecting the return of their *Divine Legislator*. I am confident that it is no great Adventure to say, That the World was better ordered under the Ancient *Nomothesie* and *Commonwealths*, that the number of Virtuous men was then greater, and that the Christians found fairer quarter under those, than among themselves, nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind from that most perfect and practical *Model* of *Humane Society*, except the Speculation of a better way to future Happiness, concerning which the very Guides disagree, and of those few that follow, it will suffer no man to pass without paying at their *Turn-pikes*. All which had proceeded from no other reason, but that men instead of squaring their Governments by the Rule of Christianity, have shaped Christianity by the Measures of their Government, have reduced that streight Line by the crooked, and bungling Divine and Humane things together, have been always hacking and hewing one another, to frame an Irregular Figure of Political Incongruity.

For whersoever either the Magistrate, or the Clergy, or

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the People could gratify their Ambition, their Profit, or their Phansie by a Text misproved or misapplied, that they made use of though against the constant, setled and immutable precepts of *Scripture*, and because Obedience for Conscience sake was there prescribed, the lesse Conscience did men make in Commanding; so that several Nations have little else to shew for their Christianity (which requires Instruction only and Example) but a pacell of severe *Laws* concerning Opinion or about the Modes of Worship, not so much in order to the Power of Religion as over it. Nevertheless because Mankind must be governed some way and be held up to one Law or other, either of Christs or their own making, the vigour of such Humane Constitutions is to be preserved until the same Authority shall upon better reason revoke them; and as in the mean time no private man may without the guilt of Sedition or Rebellion resist, so neither by the Nature of the *English* Foundation can any Publick Person suspend them without committing an Errour which is not the lesse for wanting a legall name to expresse it. But it was the Master-peice therefore of boldnesse and contrivance in these Conspiratours to issue this Declaration, and it is hard to say wherein they took the greater felicity, whither in suspending hereby all the Statutes against Popery, that it might thence forward passe like current money over the Nation, and no man dare to refuse it, or whether gaining by this a President to suspend as well all other Laws that respect the Subjects Propriety, and by the same power to abrogate and at last inact what they pleased, till there should be no further use for the Consent of the *People in Parliament*.

Having been thus true to their great designe and made so considerable a progresse, they advanced with all expedition. It was now high time to Declare the War, after they had begun it; and therefore by a *Manifesto* of the seventeenth of *March* 1672, the pretended Causes were made publick

which were, The not having Vailed Bonnet to the *English* Yatch: though the *Dutch* had all along, both at home and here as carefully endevoured to give, as the *English Admirals* to avoid the receiving of all satisfaction, or letting them understand what would do it, and the Council Clock was on purpose set forward left their utmost Compliance in the Flag at the hour appointed, should prevent the Declaration of War by some minuts. The detaining of some few *English* families (by their own Consent) in *Surynam* after the Dominion of it was by Treaty surrendred up to the *Hollander*, in which they had likewise constantly yielded to the unreasonable demands that were from one time to another extended from hence to make the thing impracticable, till even *Banister* himself, that had been imployed as the Agent and Contriver of this misunderstanding, could not at the last forbear to cry shame of it. And moreover to fill up the measure of the *Dutch* iniquity, they are accused of Pillars, Medalls, and Pictures: a Poet indeed, by a dash of his Pen, having once been the cause of a Warre against *Poland*; but this certainely was the first time that ever a *Painter* could by a stroke of his Pencill occasion the Breach of a Treaty. But considering the weakneſſe and invalidity of those other allegations, these indeed were not unnecessary, the Pillars to adde strength, the Meddalls Weight, and the Pictures Colour to their Reasons.

But herein they had however observed Faith with *France* though on all other sides broken, having capitulated to be the first that should do it. Which as it was no small peice of *French* Courtesey in so important an action to yeild the *English* the Precedence, so was it on the *English* part as great a Bravery in accepting to be the formost to discompose the State of all *Christendom*, and make themselves principal to all the horrid Destruction, Devastation, Ravage and Slaughter,

ter, which from that fatal *seventeenth* of *March*, *One thousand six hundred seventy two*, has to this very day continued.

But that which was most admirable in the winding up of this *Declaration*, was to behold these Words,

And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty to support the Peace made at Aix la Chapelle, *We do finally Declare, that, notwithstanding the Prosecution of this War, We will maintain the true intent and scope of the said Treaty, and that, in all Alliances, which We have, or shall make in the progress of this War, we have, and will take care, to preserve the entire thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the contrary.*

And yet it is as clear as the Sun, that the *French* had by that Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, agreed to acquiesce in their former Conquests in *Flanders*, and that the *English*, *Swede* and *Hollander*, were reciprocally bound to be aiding against whomsoever should disturbe that Regulation, (besides the League Offensive and Defensive, which his Majesty had entered into with the States General of the United Provinces) all which was by this Conjunction with *France* to be broken in pieces. So that what is here declared, if it were reconcileable to Truth, yet could not consist with Possibility (which two do seldom break company) unless by one only Expedient, that the *English*, who by this new League with *France*, were to be the Infractors and Aggressors of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* (and with *Holland*) should to fulfill their Obligations to both Parties, have sheathed the Sword in our own Bowels.

But such was the Zeal of the Conspirators, that it might easily transport them either to say what was untrue, or undertake what was impossible, for the *French* service.

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That King having seen the *English* thus engaged beyond a Retreat, comes now into the War according to agreement. But he was more Generous and Monarchal than to assign Cause, true or false, for his Actions. He therefore, on the 27*th*. of *March* 1672, publishes a Declaration of War without any Reasons. Only, *The ill satisfaction which his Majesty hath of the Behaviour of the States General towards him, being risen to that degree, that he can no longer, without diminution to his Glory dissemble his Indignation against them, &c. Therefore he hath resolved to make War against them both by Sea and Land, &c. And commands all his Subjects, Courtiers, &c.* upon the *Hollanders*. (A Metaphor which, out of respect to his own Nation, might have been spared.) *For such is our pleasure.*

Was ever in any Age or Nation of the World, the Sword drawn upon no better Allegation? A stile so far from being *Most Christian*, that nothing but some vain *French* Romance can parallel or justify the Expression. How happy were it could we once arrive at the same pitch, and how much credit and labour had been saved, had the Compilers of our Declaration, in stead of the mean *English* way of giving Reasons, contented themselves with that of the Diminution of the *English Honour*, as the *French* of his *Glory*! But nevertheless, by his Embassador to the *Pope*, he gave afterwards a more clear account of his Conjunction with the *English*, and that he had not undertaken this War, against the *Hollanders*, but for extirpating of Heresie. To the Emperour, That the *Hollanders* were a People who had forsaken God, were Hereticks, and that all good Christians were in duty bound to associate for their extirpation, and ought to pray to God for a blessing upon so pious an enterprise. And to other Popish Princes, that it was a War of Religion and in order to the Propagation of the Catholick Faith.

And in the second Article of his Demands afterward from the *Hollanders*, it is in express words contained, *That from thence*

thenceforward there shall be not only an intire Liberty, but a Publick Exercise of the Catholick Apostolick Romane Religion throughout all the United Provinces. So that wheresoever there shall be more than one Church, another shall be given to the Catholicks. That where there is none, they shall be permitted to build one: and till that be finished, to exercise their Divine Service publickly in such Houses as they shall buy, or hire for that purpose. That the States General, or each Province in particular, shall appoint a reasonable Salary for a Curate or Priest in each of the said Churches, out of such Revenues as have formerly appertained to the Church, or otherwise. Which was conformable to what he published now abroad, that he had entered into the War only for Gods Glory; and that he would lay down Armes streightwayes, would the *Hollanders* but restore the True Worship in their Dominions.

But he made indeed twelve Demands more, and notwithstanding all this devotion, the Article of Commerce, and for revoking their *Placarts* against Wine, Brandy, and French manufactures was the first, and tooke place of the *Catholick Apostolick Romane Religion*. Whether all these were therefore onely words of course, and to be held or let lose according to his occasions, will better appeare when we shall have heard that he still insists upon the same at *Nimegen*, and that, although deprived of our assistance, he will not yet agree with the *Dutch* but upon the termes of restoring the *True Worship*. But, whatever he were, it is evident that the *English* were sincere and in good earnest in the Design of Popery; both by that Declaration above mentioned of Indulgence to the Recusants, and by the Negotiation of those of the *English* Plenipotentiaryes (whom for their honour I name not) that being in that year sent into *Holland* presled that Article among the rest upon them, as without which they could have no hope of Peace with *England*. And the whole proceesse of affaires will manifest further, that both here and there it was all of a piece, as to the project of Religi-

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on and the same threed ran throw the Web of the *English* and *French* Counsells, no losse in relation to that, then ours Government.

Although the issuing of the *French* Kings declaration and the sending of our *English Plenipotentiaries* into *Holland* be involved together in this last period, yet the difference of time was so small that the anticipation is inconsiderable. For having declared the VVarre but on the 27th of *March* 1672. He struck so home and followed his blow so close, that by *July* following, it seemed that *Holland* could no longer stand him, but that the swiftnesse and force of his motion was something supernatural. And it was thought necessary to send over those *Plenipotentiaries*, if not for Interest yet at least for Curiosity. But it is easier to find the Marke than Reasons of some mens Actions, and he that does only know what happened before, and what after, might perhaps wrong them by searching for further Intelligence.

So it was, that the *English* and *French* Navies being joyned, were upon the *Twentieighth* of *May*, *One thousand six hundred seventy two*, Attaqued in *Soule Bay* by *De Ruyter*, with too great advantage. For while his Royal Highnesse, then *Admiral*, did all that could be expected, but *Monsieur d' Estree*, that commanded the *French*, did all that he was sent for, Our *English Vice-Admiral*, *Mounsdgue*, was sacrificed; and the rest of our Fleet so mangled, that there was no occation to boast of Victory. So that being here still on the losing hand, 'twas fit some body should look to the Bets on the other side of the Water; least that Great and Lucky Gamster, when he had won all there, and stood no longer in need of the Conspirators, should pay them with a Quarrel for his Mony, and their ill Fortune. Yet were they not conscious to themselves of having given him by any *Behaviour* of theirs, any cause of *Dissatisfaction*, but that they had dealt with him in all things most frankly. That, notwithstanding all the Expressions in my Lord Keeper *Bridgmans* Speech,

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of the *Treaty between France and his Majesty concerning Commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular regard to the Honour and also to the Trade of this Nation*, and notwithstanding the intollerable oppressions upon the *English Traffick* in *France* ever since the Kings Restauration, they had not in all that time made one step towards a Treaty of Commerce or Navigation with him; no not even now when the *English* were so necessary to him, that he could not have begun this War without them, and might probably therefore in this conjuncture have condescended to some equality. But they knew how tender that King was on that point, and to preserve and encrease the Trade of his Subjects, and that it was by the *Diminution* of that Beam of his *Glory*, that the *Hollanders* had raised his *Indignation*. The Conspirators had therefore, the more to gratify him, made it their constant Maxime, to burden the *English* Merchant here with one hand, while the *French* should load them no less with the other, in his Teritories; which was a parity of Trade indeed, though something an extravagant one, but the best that could be hoped from the prudence and integrity of our States-men; insomuch, that when the Merchants have at any time come down from *London* to represent their grievances from the *French*, to seek redress, or offer their humble advice, they were Hector'd, Brow-beaten, Ridiculed, and might have found fairer audience even from *Monsieur Colbert*.

They knew moreover, that as in the matter of Commerce, so they had more obliged him in this War. That except the irresistable bounties of so great a Prince to their own particular, and a frugal Subsistance-money for the Fleet, they had put him to no charges, but the *English* Navy Royal serv'd him, like so many *Privateers*, No *Purchase*, No *Pay*. That in all things they had acted with him upon the most abstracted Principles of Generosity. They had tyed him to no

terms, had demanded no Partition of Conquests, had made no humane Condition; but had sold all to him for those two Pearls of price, the *True Worship*, and the *True Government*. Which disinteressed proceeding of theirs, though suited to Forraine Magnanimity, yet, should we still lose at Sea, as we had hitherto, and the *French* Conquer all at Land, as it was in prospect, might at one time or other breed some difficulty in answering for it to the King and Kingdom: However this were, it had so hapned before the arrival of the *Plenipotentiaries*, that, whereas here in *England*, all that brought applycations from *Holland* were treated as Spies and Enemies, till the *French King* should signifie his pleasure; he on the contrary, without any communication here, had received Addresses from the *Dutch Plenipotentiaries*, and given in to them the sum of his Demands (not once mentioning his Majesty or his Interest, which indeed he could not have done unless for mockery, having demanded all for himself, so that there was no place left to have made the *English* any satisfaction) and the *French* Ministers therefore did very candidly acquaint those of *Holland*, that, upon their accepting those Articles, there should be a firm Peace, and Amity restored: But as for *England*, the States, their Masters, might use their discretion, for that *France* was not obliged by any Treaty to procure their advantage.

This manner of dealing might probably have animated, as it did warrant the *English Plenipotentiaries*, had they been as full of Resolution as of Power, to have closed with the *Dutch*, who, out of aversion to the *French*, and their intolerable demands, were ready to have thrown themselves into his Majesties Armes, or at his Feet, upon any reasonable conditions; But it wrought clean otherwise: For, those of the *English Plenipotentiaries*, who were, it seems, intrusted with a fuller Authority, and the deeper Secret, gave in also the *English* Demands to the *Hollanders*, consisting in eight Articles, but at last the Ninth saith,

Although his Majesty contents himself with the foregoing Conditions, so that they be accepted within ten dayes, after which his Majesty understands himself to be no further obliged by them. He declares nevertheless precisely, that albeit they should all of them be granted by the said States, yet they shall be of no force, nor will his Majesty make any Treaty of Peace or Truce, unless the Most Christian King *shall have received satisfaction from the said States in his particular.* And by this means they made it impossible for the *Dutch*, however desirous, to comply with *England*, excluded us from more advantagious terms, than we could at any other time hope for, and deprived us of an honest, and honourable evasion out of so pernicious a War, and from a more dangerous Alliance. So that now it appeared by what was done that the Conspirtors securing their own fears at the price of the Publick Interest, and Safety, had bound us up more strait then ever, by a new Treaty, to the *French* Project.

The rest of this year passed with great successe to the *French*, but none to the *English*. And therefore the hopes upon which the War was begun, of the *Smyrna* and *Spanish* Fleet, and *Dutch* Prizes, being vanished, the slender Allowance from the *French* not sufficing to defray it, and the ordinary Revenue of the King, with all the former Aides being (as was fit to be believed) in lesse then one years time exhausted, The Parliament by the Conspirators good leave, was admitted again to sit at the day appointed, the 4th. of *February* 1672.

The Warr was then first communicated to them, and the Causes, the Necessity, the Danger, so well Painted out, that the *Dutch* abusive Historical Pictures, and False Medalls (which were not forgot to be mentioned) could not be better imitated or revenged, Onely, there was one great omission of their False Pillars, which upheld the whole Fabrick of the *England* Declarations; Upon this signification, the House of Commons (who had never failed the Crown hitherto up-

on any occaſion of mutual gratuity ; did now alſo, though in a Warre contrary to former uſuage, begin without their Advice, readily Vote, no leſs a ſumme than 1250000 *l.* But for better Colour, and leaſt they ſhould own in words, what they did in effect, they would not ſay it was for the Warre, but for the Kings Extraordinary Occaſions.

And becauſe the Nation began now to be aware of the more true Cauſes, for which the Warre had been undertaken, they prepared an Act before the Money-Bill ſlipt thorrow their Fingers, by which the Papiſts were obliged, to paſs thorow a new State Purgatory, to be capable of any Publick Imployment; whereby the Houſe of Commons, who ſeem to have all the Great Offices of the Kingdom in Reverſion, could not but expect ſome Wind-falls.

Upon this Occaſion it was, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, though then Lord Chancellour of *England*, yet, Engaged ſo far in Defence of that ACT, and of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, that in due time it coſt him his Place, and was the firſt moving Cauſe of all thoſe Miſadventures, and Obloquy, which ſince he lyes (*ABOVE*, not) *Under*.

The Declaration alſo of Indulgence was queſtioned, which, though his MAJESTY had out of his Princely, and Gracious Inclination, and the memory of ſome former Obligations, granted, yet upon their Repreſentation of the Inconveniencies, and at their humble Requeſt, he was pleaſed to Cancel, and Declare, that it ſhould be no Preſident for the Future : For otherwiſe ſome ſucceeding Governour, by his ſingle Power Suſpending Penal Laws, in a favourable matter, as that is of Religion, might become more dangerous to the Government, than either Papiſts or Fanaticks, and

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make us *Either*, when he pleased : So Legal was it in this Session to Distinguish between the King of *Englands* Personal, and his Parliamentary Authority.

But therefore the further sitting being grown very uneasie to those, who had undertaken for the Change of Religion, and Government, they procured the Recess so much sooner, and a Bill sent up by the Commons in favour of Dissenting Protestants, not having passed thorow the Lords preparation, the Bill concerning Papists, was enacted in Exchange for the Money, by which the Conspirators, when it came into their management, hoped to frustrate, yet, the effect of the former. So the Parliament was dismissed till the *Twenty seventh* of *October*, *One thousand six hundred seventy three*.

In the mean time therefore they strove with all their might to regain by the VVar, that part of their Design, which they had lost by Parliament; and though several honourably forsook their Places rather than their Consciences, yet there was never wanting some double-dyed Son of our Church, some Protestant in grain, to succeed upon the same Conditions. And the difference was no more, but that their Offices, or however their Counsels, were now to be administred by their Deputies, such as they could confide in.

The business of the Land Army was vigourously carried on, in appearance to have made some descent in *Holland*, but though the Regiments were Compleated and kept Imbodyed, it wanted effect, and therefore gave cause of suspition: The rather, because no *Englishman*, among so many well-disposed, and qualified for the work, had been thought capable, or fit to be trusted with Chief Command of those Forces, but that *Monsieur Schomberg* a *French* Protestant, had been made General, and Collonel *Fitsgerald*, an *Irish* Papist, Major General, as more proper for the Secret; the first of advancing the *French* Government, the second of promoting the *Irish* Religion.

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And therefore the dark hovering of that Army so long at *Black-Hearth*, might not improbably seem the gatherings of a Storm to fall upon *London*; But the ill successes which our Fleet met withall this Year, also, at Sea, were sufficient, had there been any such design at home to have quasht it: for such Gallantries are not to be attempted, but in the highest raptures of Fortune.

There were three several Engagements of ours against the *Dutch Navy* in this one Summer, but while nothing was Tenable at Land, against the *French*, it seem'd that to us at Sea every thing was impregnable; which is not to be attributed to the want of Courage or Conduct, either the former Year under the Command of his Royal Highness, so Great a Souldier, or this Year under the Prince, *Robert*; But is rather to be imputed to our unlucky Conjunction with the *French*, like the disasters that happen to men by being in ill Company.

But besides it was manifest that in all those Wars, the *French* ment nothing less than really to assist us; He had first practised the same Art at Sea, when he was in League with the *Hollander* against us, his Navy never having done them any service, for his business was only to see us Batter one another. And now he was on the *English* side, he only studied to sound our *Seas*, to spy our *Ports*, to learn our *Building*, to contemplate our way of *Fight*, to consume ours, and preserve his own *Navy*, to encrease his *Commerce*, and to order all so, that the two great Naval Powers of *Europe*, being crushed together, he might remain sole Arbitrator of the Ocean, and by consequence Master of all the Isles and Continent. To which purposes the Conspirators furnished him all possible opportunities. Therefore it was that *Monsieur d' Estree*, though a Person otherwise of tryed Courage and Prudence, yet never did worse than in the third and last Engagement; and because brave *Monsieur d' Martel* did better, and could not endure a thing that looked like Cowar-

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diſe or Treachery, though for the Service of his Monarch, commanded him in, rated him, and at his return home he was, as then was reported, diſcountenanced and diſmiſſed from his Command, for no other crime, but his breaking of the *French* meaſures, by adventuring one of thoſe ſacred Shipps in the *Engliſh*, or, rather his own Maſters Quarrel.

His Royal Highneſſe (by whoſe having quitted the Admiralty, the Sea ſervice thrived not the better) was now intent upon his Marrige, at the ſame time the Parliament was to reaſſemble the 27th of *October* 1673. the Princeſſe of *Modena*, his Conſort, being upon the way for *England*, and that buſineſſe ſeemed to have paſſed all impediment. Nor were the Conſpirators who (to uſe the *French* phraſe) made a conſiderable Figure in the Government, wholly averſe to the Parliaments meeting: For if the Houſe of Commons had after one years unfortunate War, made ſo vaſt a Preſent to his Majeſty of 1200000 *l.* But the laſt *February*, it ſeemed the argument would now be more preſſing upon them, that by how much the ill ſucceſſes, of this year had been greater, they ought therefore to give a yet more liberal Donative. And the Conſpirators as to their own particular reckoned, that while the Nation was under the more diſtreſſe and hurry they were themſelves ſafer from Parliament, by the Publick Calamity.

A ſupply therefore was demanded with much more importunity, and aſſurance then ever before, and that it ſhould be a large one and a ſpeedy: They were told that it was now *Pro Aris & Focis*, all was at ſtake, And yet beſides all this, the Payment of the Debt to the Banckers upon ſhutting the Exchequer was very civilly recommended to them. And they were aſſured that his Majeſty would be conſtantly ready to give them all prooſes of his Zeal for the true Religion and the Laws of the Realm, upon all occaſions: But the Houſe of Commons not having been ſufficiently prepared for ſuch demands, nor well ſatisfied in ſeveral matters of

Fact, which appeared contrary to what was represented, took check; and first interposed in that tender point of his Royall Highnesse's Match, although she was of his own Religion, which is a redoubled sort of Marriage, or the more spiritual part of its Happynesse. Besides, that she had been already solemnly married by the Dukes Proxcy, so that unlesse the Parliament had been Pope and calmed a power of Dispensation, it was now too late to avoide it. His Majesty by a short Prorogation of six days, when he understood their intention, gave them opportunity to have disisted: But it seems they judged the National Intereſt of Religion so farre concerned in this matter, that they no sooner meet again, but they drew up a second requeſt by way of Addresse to his Majesty with their Reasons against it. That for his Royal Highnesse to marry the Princesse of *Modena*, or any other of that Religion, had very dangerous consequences: That the mindes of his Majesties Protestant subjects will be much disquieted, thereby filled with infinite discontents, and Jealousies. That his *Majesty* would thereby be linked into such a foraine Alliance, which will be of great disadvantage, and possibly to the Ruine of the Protestant Religion. That they have found by sad experience how such mariages have always increased Popery, and incorraged Priests and Jesuits to prevert his Majesties subjects: That the Popish party already lift up their heads in hopes of his marriage: That they fear it may diminish the affection of the people toward his Royal Highnesse, who is by blood so near related to the Crown: That it is now more then one Age, that the subjects have lived in continual apprehensions of the increase of Popery, and the decay of the Protestant Religion: Finally that she having many Kindred and Relations in the Court of *Rome*, by this means their enterprises here might be facilitated, they might pierce into the most secret Counsells of his Majesty, and discover the state of the Realm. That the most learned men are of opinion, that Marriages no further Proceeded in,

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may lawfully be Diſſolved : And therefore they beſeech his *Majeſty* to Annul the Conſummation of it, and the Rather, becauſe they have not yet the Happineſs to ſee any of his *Majeſtyes* own Lineage to Succeed in his Kingdomes.

Theſe Reaſons, which were extended more amply againſt his Royal Highneſſes *Marriage*, obtained more weight, becauſe moſt men are apt to Judge of things by Circumſtances, and to attribute what happens by the Conjuncture of Times, to the Effect of Contrivance. So that it was not difficult to Interpret what was in his Royal Highneſs, an ingagement only of Honour, and Affection, as proceeding from the Conſpirators Counſels, ſeeing it made ſo much to their purpoſe.

But the buſineſs was too far advanced to retreat, as his *Majeſty* with great reaſon had replyed, to their former Addreſs, the *Marriage* having been celebrated already, and confirmed by his *Royal* Authority, and the Houſe of Commons though ſitting when the Duke was in a Treaty for the Arch Dutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, one of the ſame Religion, yet having taken no notice of it.

Therefore while they purſued the matter thus, by a ſecond Addreſs, it ſeemed an eaſier thing, and more decent, to Prorogue the Parliament, than to Diſſolve the *Marriage*. And, which might more incline his *Majeſty* to this Reſolution, the Houſe of Commons had now bound themſelves up by a Vote that having conſidered the preſent State of the Nation, they would not take into

Deliberation, nor have any further Debate upon any other Propoſals of Aide, or any Surcharge upon the Subject, before the payment of the *Twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds*, in *eighteen Months*, which was laſt granted, were expired, or at leaſt till they ſhould evidently ſee that the Obſtinacy of the *Hollanders* ſhould oblige them to the contrary, nor till after the kingdom ſhould be effectually ſecured againſt the dangers of Popery, and Popiſh Counſellours, and that Order be taken againſt other preſent Miſdemeanours.

There was yet another thing, the Land-Army, which appearing to them expenſive, needleſs, and terrible to the People, they addreſſed to his Majeſty alſo, that they might be disbanded. All which things put together, his Majeſty was induced to Prorogue the Parliament again for a ſhort time, till the *ſeventh* of *January*, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy three*: That in the mean while the Princeſs of *Modena* arriving, the Marriage might be conſummated without further interruption.

That Seſſion was opened with a large deduction alſo, by the new Lord *Keeper*, this being his firſt Experiment, in the Lords Houſe of his Eloquence and Veracity, of the *Hollanders* averſeneſs to Peace or Reaſon, and their uncivil and indirect dealing in all Overtures of Treaty with his Majeſty, and a Demand was made therefore and re-inforced as formerly, of a proportionable and ſpeedy Supply. But the *Hollanders* that had found themſelves obſtructed alwayes hitherto, and in a manner excluded from all Applications, and that whatever means they had uſed was ſtill miſ-interpreted, and ill repreſented, were ſo induſtrious, as by this time (which was perhaps the greateſt part of their Crime) to have undeceived the generality of the Nation in thoſe particulars.

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The House of Commons therefore not doubting, but that if they held their hands in matter of money, a Peace would in due time follow, grew troublesome rather to several of the great Ministers of State, whom they suspected to have been Principal in the late pernicious Counsels. But instead of the way of Impeachment, whereby the Crimes might have been brought to Examination, Proof and Judgment, they proceeded Summarily within themselves, noting them only with an ill Character, and requesting his Majesty to remove them from his Counsels, his Presence, and their Publick Imployments. Neither in that way of handling were they Impartial.

Of the three which were questioned, the Duke of *Buckingham* seemed to have much the more favourable Cause, but had the severest Fortune. And this whole matter not having been mannaged in the solemn Methods of National Justice, but transmitted to his Majesty, it was easily changed into a Court Intrigue, where though it be a Modern *Maxime*,

That no State Minister ought to be punished, but, *especially not upon Parliamentary Applications.*

Yet other Offenders thought it of security to themselves, in a time of Publick Discontent, to have one Man sacrificed, and so the Duke of *Buckingham* having worse Enemies, and as it chanced worse Friends, than the rest, was after all his Services abandoned, they having only heard the sound, while he felt all the smart of that Lash from the House of Commons.

But he was so far a Gainer, that with the loss of his Offices, and dependance, he was restored to the Freedom of his own Spirit, to give thence-forward those admirable

Proofs of the Vigour, and Vivacity of his better Judgment, in Asserting, though to his own Imprisonment, the due Liberties of the *English* Nation.

This manner of proceeding in the House of Commons, was a new way of negotiating the Peace with *Holland*, but the most effectual; the Conspirators living all the while under continual apprensions of being called to further account for their Actions, and no mony appearing, which would either have prepetuated the War, or might, in case of a Peace, be misapplied, to other uses, then the building of Ships, insinuated by the Lord Keeper.

The *Hollanders* Propositions, by this means, therefore, began to be thought more reasonable, and the *Marquis del Fresno*, the *Spanish* Minister in this Court, labourd so well, that his Majesty thought fit to Communicate the overture to both Houses, and though their advice had not been asked to the War, yet not to make the Peace without it. There was not much difficulty in their resolutions. For the generall bent of the Nation was against the War, the *French* now had by their ill behaviour at Sea, in all the Engagements, raised also the *English* Indignation, their pernicious Counsels were visible in their book of the *Politique Francoise*, tending by frequent levyes of men, and mony, to exhaust, and weaken our Kingdome, and by their conjunction with us, on set purpose, to raise, betwixt the King and his People, a rationall Jealousy of Popery, and *French* Government, till we should insensibly devolve into them by Inclination or Necessity: As men of ill conversation, pin themselves maliciously on persons more sober, that if they can no otherwise debauch them, they may blast their Reputation by their society, and so oblige them to theirs; being suspected by better Company.

Be

Beſides all which the very reaſon of Traffick which hath been ſo long neglected by our greater Stateſmen was now of ſome conſideration, for as much as by a Peace with the *Hollander* the greateſt part of the Trade and Navigation of *Europe* as long as the *French* King diſturbed it, would of courſe fall into the *Engliſh* management. The Houſes therefore gave their humble advice to his Majeſty for a juſt and honorable Peace with the States Generall, which when it could be no longer reſiſted, was concluded.

In the ſeventh Article of this Treaty it is ſaid.

That the Treaty which was made at Breda *in the yeare* 1667, *as alſo all the others which are by this preſent Treaty confirmed, ſhall by the preſent be renewed, and ſhall continue in their full force and vigour, as far as they ſhall not be contrary unto this ſaid preſent Treaty.*

Which words are the more to be taken notice of, that they may be compared afterwards with the effects that follow, to ſee how well on the *Engliſh* part that Agreement hath been obſerved.

The buſineſſe of the Peace thus being once over, and this Parliament ſtill lowring upon the Miniſters of State, or boggling at the Land Forces (whereof the eight new raiſed Regiments were upon the requeſt of the Commons at laſt diſbanded) or imployed in further Bills againſt Popery, and for the Education, and Proteſtant *Marriage* henceforward of thoſe of the Royal Family; the neceſſity of their further ſitting ſeemed not ſo urgent, but that they might have a repoſe till the tenth of *November* 1674. following.

The Conſpirators had hitherto failed of the accompliſhing their deſign, by prepetual diſappointments, and which was

was most grievous to them, foresaw, that the want of mony would still necessitate the frequent sitting of Parliament, which danger they had hop'd long ere this to have conquer'd In this state of their affaires the *French* King therefore was by no meanes to be further disobliged, he being the Master of their secret, and the only person which if they helped him at this plunge, might yet carry them thorow. They were therefore very diligent to profit themselves of all the advantages to this purpose that their present posture could afford them. They knew that his Majesty being now disengaged from War, would of his Royall Prudence interpose for Peace by his Mediation, it being the most glorious Character that any Prince can assume; and for which he was the more proper, as being the most Potent, thereby to give the sway, and the most disintressed whereby to give the Equity requisite to such a Negotiation; and the most obliged in Honour, as having been the occasion by an unforeseen consequence of drawing the sword of all this part of *Europe*. But if they feared any propension in his *Majesty* to one party it was toward *Spaine*, as knowing how that Crowne (as it is at large recited, and acknowledged, in the preamble of the last Treaty between *England and Holland* had been the only instrument of the happy Peace which after that pernicious War we now injoyed.

Therefore they were resolved by all their influence, and industry (though the profit of the War did now wholly, redown to the *English* Nation, and however in case of peace it was our Interest, that if any, *France* should be depressed to any equality, to labour that by this mediation *France* might be the onely gainer, and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect leisure to attend their project upon *England*. And one of these our Statesmen being pressed, solved all Arguments to the contrary with an oraculous *French* question

Faut

Faut il que tout se faſſe par Politique, rien par Amitie?

Muſt all things be done by Maxims or Reaſons of State; nothing for Affection?

Therefore that ſuch an abſurdity as the ordering of Affairs abroad, according to the Intereſt of our Nation might be avoided, the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Regiments, that were already in the *French* Service, were not only to be kept in their full Complement, but new numbers of Souldiers daily tranſported thither, making up in all, as is related, at leaſt a conſtant Body of *Ten thouſand Men*, of his Majeſties Subjects, and which oftentimes turned the Fortune of Battle on the *French* ſide by their Valour.

How far this either conſiſted with the Office of a Mediatour, or how conſonant it was to the ſeventh Article above mentioned, of the laſt Treaty with *Holland*; It is for them to demonſtrate who were the Authors. But it was indeed a good way to train up an Army, under the *French Diſcipline* and *Principles*, who might be ready ſeaſoned upon occaſion in *England*, to be called back and execute the ſame Counſels.

In the mean time, they would be trying yet what they could do at home. For the late proceedings of *Parliament*, in quaſhing the Indulgence, in queſtioning Miniſters of State, in Bills againſt *Popery*, in not granting Money whenſoever asked, were Crimes not to be forgiven, nor (however the Conſpirators had provided for themſelves) named in the Act of General Pardon.

They began therefore after fifteen Years to remember that there were ſuch a ſort of men in *England* as the Old Cavalier Party; and reckoned, that by how much the more generous, they were more credulous than others, and ſo more fit to be a gain abuſed. Theſe were told, that all

was

was at Stake, Church and State (How truly ſaid! But meant, how falſly!) That the Nation was running again into *Fourty One*, That this was the time to refreſh their antient merit, and receive the Recompence double of all their Loyalty, and that hence-forward the Cavaliers ſhould have the Lottery af all the Great or Small Offices in the Kingdom, and not ſo much as Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* to have a ſhare in it.

By this meanes they indeed deſigned to have raiſed a Civil War, for which they had all along provided, by new Forts, and ſtanding Forces, and to which they had on purpoſe both in *England* and *Scotland* given all provocation if it would have been taken, that ſo they might have a *Raſe Campagne* of Religion, Government, and Propriety: or they hoped at leaſt by this means to fright the one party, and incourage the other, to give henceforward Money at pleaſure, and that money on what title ſoever granted, with what ſtamp coyned, might be melted down for any other ſervice or uſes. But there could not have been a greater affront and indignity offerred to thoſe Gentlemen (and the beſt did reſent it) then whether theſe hopes were reall, to think them men that might be hired to any baſe action, or whether as hitherto but imaginary, that by erecting the late Kings Statue that whole Party might be rewarded in Effigie.

While theſe things were upon the Anvill the tenth of *November* was come for the Parliaments ſitting, but that was put off till the 13th. of *April* 1675. And in the mean time, which fell out moſt opportune for the Conſpirators, theſe Counſells were matured, and ſomething further to be contrived, that was yet wanting: The Parliament accordingly meeting, and the Houſe of Lords, as well as that of the Commons, being in deliberation of ſeverall wholeſome Bills, ſuch as the preſent ſtate of the Nation required the great Deſign came out in a Bill unexpectedly offered one morning in the Houſe of Lords, whereby all ſuch as injoyed any bene-

beneficiall Office, or Imployment, Eccleſiaſtical, Civill, or Military, to which was added, Privy Counſellours, Juſtices of the Peace, and Members of Parliament, were under a Penalty to take the Oath, and make the Declaration, and Abhorrence, inſuing,

I A. B. *Do declare, That it is not Lavvful upon any pretence vvhatſoever to take up Armes againſt the King, and that I do abhorre that Traiterous poſition, of taking Armes by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do ſvvear, that I vvill not at any time Indeavour the Alteration of the Governmnt either in Church or State. So help me God.*

This ſame Oath had been brought into the Houſe of Commons in the Plague year at *Oxford*, to have been impoſed upon the Nation, but there, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe very ſame perſons, that now introduce it, twas thrown out, for fear of a General Infection of the Vitales of this Kingdome: And though it paſſed then in a particular Bill, Known by the name of the *Five-mile Act*, becauſe it only concerned the Non-conformiſt Preachers, yet even in that, it was throughly oppoſed by the late Earle of *Southampton*, whoſe Judgement might well have been reckoned for the *Standard of Prudence and Loyalty*. It was indeed happily ſaid, by the Lord Keeper, in the opening of this Seſſion, *No Influences of the Starrs, no Configuration of the Heavens, are to be feared, ſo long as theſe tvvo Houſes ſtand in a Good Diſpoſition to each other, and both of them in a happy Conjunction, vvith their Lord and Soveraign*. But if he had ſo early this Act in his proſpect, the ſame *Aſtrology* might have taught him, that there is nothing more portentous, and of worſe *Omen*, then when ſuch an Oath hangs over a Nation, like a New *Comet* forboding the Alteration of Religion, or Govern-

ment: Such was the *Holy League* in *France* in the Reigne of *Henry the third.* Such in the time of *Philip the second*, the Oath in the *Netherlands*. And so the Oaths in our late Kings time taught the Fanaticks, because they could not swear, yet to Covenant. Such things therefore are, if ever, not needlessly thought for good fortune sake only to be attempted, and when was there any thing lesse necessary? No King of *England* had ever so great a Treasure of this Peoples Affections except what those ill men have, as they have, done, all the rest, consumed; whom but out of an excesse of Love to his Person, the Kingdome would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffered: The Old Acts of Allegiance, and Supremacy, were still in their full Vigour, unlesse against the Papists, and even against them too of late, whensoever the way was to be smoothed for a liberall Session of Parliament. And moreover to put the Crown in full security, this Parliament had by an Act of theirs determined a Question which the wisdome of their Ancestors had never decided, that the King hath the sole power of the *Militia.* And therefore my Lord Keeper did by his patronizing this Oath, too grossely prevaricate, against two very good *State Maximes*, in his *Harangue* to the Parliament, for which he had consulted not the *Astrologer*, but the *Historian*, advising them first, That they should not *Quieta movere*, that is, said he, *when men stirre those things or Questions which are, and ought to be in peace.* And secondly, That they should not *Res parvas magnis motibus agere*: That is, saith he againe, *when as much weight is laid upon a new and not always necessary Proposition as if the whole summe of affaires depended upon it.*

And this Oath, it seems, was the little thing he meant of, being forsooth but a *Moderate Security to the Church and Crown*, as he called it, but which he and his party *laid so much weight on, as if the whole sum of Affaires did depend upon it.*

But

But as to the *Quieta movere*, or ſtirring of thoſe things or Queſtions which are and ought to be in Peace, was not this ſo, of taking Armes againſt the King upon any pretence whatſoever? And was not that alſo in Peace, of the *Trayterous Poſition* of taking Armes by his Authority againſt his Perſon? Had not the three Acts of *Corporations*, of *Militia*, and the *Five Miles*, ſufficiently quieted it? Why was it further *ſtirred*? But being ſtirred, it raiſes in mens thoughts many things more; ſome leſs, others more to the purpoſe.

Sir *Walter Tirrells* Arrow grazed upon the Deer it was ſhot at, but by that chance kill'd King *William Rufus*; Yet ſo far was it that Sir *Walter* ſhould for that chance ſhot be adjudged of Treaſon, that we do not perceive he underwent any other Tryal like that of *Manſlaughter*: But which is more to the point, it were difficult to inſtance a Law either in this or other Country, but that a private Man, if any king in Chriſtendom aſſault him, may, having retreated to the Wall, ſtand upon his Guard; and therefore, if this matter as to a particular man be dubious, it was not ſo prudent to *ſtirre* it in the General, being ſo well ſetled. And as to all other things, though ſince Lord *Chancellour*, he havein his Speech of the 15 of *Feb. One thouſand ſix hundred ſeveny ſix*, ſaid (to teſtify his own abhorrency) *Away with that ill meant diſtinction betwixt the Natural and the Politique Capacity*. He is too well read to be ignorant that without that Diſtinction there would be no Law nor Reaſon of Law left in *England*; To which end it was, and to put all out of doubt, that it is alſo required in this *Teſt*, to declare mens abhorrency as of a *Traitorous Poſition*, to take Armes againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion; and yet neither is the Tenour, or Rule, of any ſuch Commiſſion ſpecified, nor the Qualification of thoſe that ſhall be armed with ſuch Commiſſions, expreſſed or limited. Never was ſo much ſence contained in ſo few words. No Conveyancer could ever in more Compendious or binding terms have

drawn a Diſſettlement of the whole Birth-right of *England*.

For as to the Commiſſion, if it be to take away any mans Eſtate, or his Life by force, Yet it is the Kings Commiſſion: Or if the Perſon Commiſſionate, be under never ſo many Diſſabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this Oath, removes all thoſe Incapacities, or his Commiſſion makes it not Diſputable. But if a man ſtand upon his Defence, a good Judge for the purpoſe, finding that the Poſition is *Traitorous*, will declare that by this Law, he is to be Executed for Treaſon.

Theſe things are no Nicetyes, or remote Conſiderations (though in making of Laws, and which muſt come afterwards under Conſtruction of Judges, *Durante Bene-placito*, all Caſes are to be put and imagined) but there being an Act in *Scotland* for *Twenty thouſand Men* to March into *England* upon Call, and ſo great a Body of *Engliſh* Soulderry in *France*, within Summons, beſides what *Forainers* may be obliged by Treaty to furniſh, and it being ſo freſh in memory, what ſort of perſons had lately been in Commiſſion among us, to which add the many Bookes, then Printed by Licence, Writ, ſome by Men of the *Black*, one of the *Green-Cloath*, wherein the Abſoluteneſs of the *Engliſh* Monarchy is againſt all Law aſſerted.

All theſe Conſiderations put together, were ſufficient to make any honeſt and well-adviſed man, to conceive indeed, that upon the paſſing of this Oath and Declaration, *the whole ſum of Affaires depended*.

It grew therefore to the greateſt conteſt, that has perhaps ever been in Parliament, wherein thoſe Lords, that were againſt this Oath, being aſſured of their own Loyalty and Merit, ſtood up now for the *Engliſh* Liberties with the ſame Genius, Virtue and Courage, that their Noble Anceſtors had formerly defended the *Great Charter of England*, but with ſo much greater Commendation, in that they had here a fairer

Field,

Field, and the more Civil way of Decision: They fought it out under all the disadvantages imaginable: They were overlaid by Numbers, the noise of the House, like the VVind was against them, and if not the Sun, the Fire-side was allwayes in their Faces; nor being so few, could they, as their Adversaries, withdraw to refresh themselves in a whole days Ingagement: Yet never was there a clearer Demonstration how dull a thing is humane Eloquence, and Greatness, how Little, when the bright Truth discovers all things in their proper Colours and Dimensions, and shining shoots its Beams thorow all their Fallacies. It might be injurious where all of them did so excellently well, to attribute more to any one of those Lords than another, unless because the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, have been the more reproached for this brave Action, it be requisite by a double proportion of Praise to set them two on equal terms with the rest of their Companions in Honour. The particular Relation of this Debate, which lasted many dayes with great eagerness on both sides, and the Reasons but on one, was in the next Session burnt by Order of the Lords, but the Sparkes of it will eternally fly in their Adversaries faces.

Now before this *Test* could in so vigorous an opposition passe the House of Peers, there arose unexpectedly a great Controversy betwixt the two Houses, concerning their Priviledges on this occasion, The Lords according to their undoubted Right, being the Supream Court of Judicature in the Nation, had upon Petition of Doctor *Shirley*, taken cognizance of a Cause between him and *Sir John Fagg*, a Member of the House of Commons, and of other Appeales from the Court of Chancery, which the Commons, whether in good earnest, which I can hardly believe, or rather some crafty Parliament men among them, having an eye upon the *Test*, and to prevent the hazard of its coming among them, presently took hold of, and blew the Coales to such a degree, that there was no quenching them.

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In

In the Houſe of Peers both Partyes, as in a point of their own Privilege, eaſily united, and were no leſſe inflamed againſt the Commons, and to uphold their own ancient Juriſdiction; wherein nevertheleſſe both the Lords for the *Teſt*, and thoſe againſt it, had their own particular reaſons, and might have accuſed each-other perhaps of ſome artifice; The matter in concluſion was ſo husbanded on all ſides, that any longer converſe betwixt the two Houſes grew impracticable, and his Majeſty Prorogued them therefore till the 13th of *October* 1675, following: And in this manner that fatall *Teſt* which had given ſo great diſturbance to the mindes of our Nation, dyed the *ſecond Death* which in the language of the Divines, is as much as to ſay, it was *Damned.*

The Houſe of Commons had not in that Seſſion been wanting to Vote 300000 l. towards the building of Ships, and to draw a Bill for appropriating the Ancient *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, amounting to 400000 l. yearly to the uſe of the Navy, as it ought in Law already, and had been granted formerly upon that ſpecial Truſt and Confidence, but neither did that 300000 l. although Competent at preſent, and but an earneſt for future meeting, ſeem conſiderable, and had it been more, yet that Bill of appropriating any thing to its true uſe, was a ſufficient cauſe to make them both miſcarry, but upon pretenſe of the quarrel between the Lords and Commons in which the Seſſion thus ended.

The Conſpirators had this interval to reflect upon their own affaires. They ſaw that the King of *France* (as they called him) was ſo buſy abroad, that he could not be of farther uſe, yet, to them here, then by his directions, while his Armyes were by aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Forces, ſeverall times ſaved from ruines. They conſidered that the *Teſt* was defeated, by which the Papiſts hoped to have had *Repriſalls* for that of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the Conſpirators

to

to have gained Commission, as extensive and arbitrary, as the malice of their own hearts could dictate: That herewith they had missed of a Legality to have raised mony without Consent of Parliament, or to imprison or execute whosoever should oppose them in *pursuance of such their Commission*. They knew it was in vaine to expect that his Majesty in that want, or rather opinion of want, which they had reduced him to, should be diverted from holding this Session of Parliament: nor were they themselves for this once wholy averse to it, For they presumed either way to find their own account, that if mony were granted it should be attributed to their influence, and remaine much within their disposal, but if not granted, that by joyning this with other accidents of Parliament, they might so represent things to his Majesty as to incense him against them, and distrusting all Parliamentary Advice to take Counsel from themselves, from *France*, and from Necessity.

And in the meane time they fomented all the Jealousies which they caused. They continued to inculcate *Forty and One* in Court, and Country.

Those that refused all the mony they demanded, were to be the onely Recusants, and all that asserted the Libertyes of the Nation, were to be reckoned in the *Classis* of *Presbyterians*.

The 13*th*. of *October* came, and his Majesty now asked not only a Supply for his building of Ships, as formerly, but further, to take off the *Anticipation* upon his *Revenue*.

The House of Commons took up again such Publick Bills as they had on foot in their former sitting, and others that might either Remedy Present, or Prevent Future Mischiefs.

The Bill for *Habeas Corpus*.

That against sending men Prisoners beyond Sea.

That against raising Mony without Consent of Parliament;

That against Papists sitting in either House.

Another Act for speedier convicting of Papists.

That for recalling his Mejestys Subjects out of the *French* service, *&c:* And as to his Majestys supply, they proceeded in their former Method of the two Bills, One for raising 300000 l. and the other for Appropriating the *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to the use of the Navy.

And in the Lords House there was a good disposition toward things of Publick Intereſt: But 300000 l. was so insipid a thing, to those who had been continually regaled with Millions, and that Act of Appropriation, with some others, went so much against stomack that there wanted only an opportunity to reject them, and that which was readiest at hand was the late quarrel betwixt the House of Lords and the Commons. The house of Commons did now more peremptorily then ever, oppose the Lords Jurisdiction in Appeals: The Lords on the otherside were resolved not to depart from so essentiall a Priviledge and Authority, but to proceed in the Exercise of it: So that this Dispute was raised to a greater Ardure and Contention then ever, and there appeared no way of accomodation. Hereupon the Lords were in consultation for an Addresse to his Majesty conteining many weighty Reasons for his Majestyes dissolving this Parliament, deduced from the nature and behaviour of the present House of Commons: But his Majesty, although the transaction between the two Houses was at present become impracticable, Judging that this House might at some other time be of use to him, chose only to Prorogue the Parliament; The blame of it was not onely laid, but aggravated, upon those in both Houses, but especially on the Lords-House, who had most vigorously opposed the *French* and Popish Intereſt. But those who were present at the Lords, and observed the conduct of the Great Ministers

there

there, conceived of it otherwiſe; And as to the Houſe of Commons, who in the heat of the Conteſt, had Voted,

That whoſoever ſhall Sollicity or proſecute any Appeal againſt any Commoner of England, *from any Court of Equity before the Houſe of Lords, ſhall be deemed and taken a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of* England, *and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly.*

Their Speaker, going thorow *VVeſtminſter Hall* to the Houſe, and looking down upon ſome of thoſe Lawyers, commanded his Mace to ſeize them. and led them up Priſoners with him, which it is preſumed, that he being of his Majeſties Privie Councill, would not have done, but for what ſome men call his Majeſties *Service*; And yet it was the higheſt, this, of all the Provocations which the Lords had received in this Controverſie. But however, this fault ought to be divided, there was a greater committed in Proroguing the Parliament, from the 22th. of *November* 1675, unto the 15th, of *February* 1676. And holding it after that diſmiſſion, there being no Record of any ſuch thing done ſince the being of Parliaments in *England*, and the whole Reaſon of Law no leſſe then the Practiſe and Cuſtome holding Contrary.

This vaſt ſpace betwixt the meetings of Parliament cannot more properly be filled up, then with the coherence of thoſe things abroad and at home, that thoſe that are intelligent may obſerve whether the Conſpirators found any interruption, or did not rather ſute this event alſo to the Continuance of their Counſells. The Earl of *Northampton* is not to be eſteemed as one engaged in thoſe Counſells, being a perſon of too great Honour, though the advanceing of him to be *Conſtable of the Tower*, was the firſt of our Domeſtick occurrents. But if they could have any hand in it,

'tis more probable that left he might perceive their Contrivances, they apparelled him in so much Wall to have made him insensible. However men conjectured even then by the Quality of the Keeper, that he was not to be disparaged with any mean and vulgar Prisoners. But another thing was all along very remarkable, That during this Inter-Parliament, there were five Judges places either fell, or were made vacant, (for it was some while before that Sir. *Francis North* had been created Lord Cheif Justice of the Common Pleas) the five that succeeded, were Sir *Richard Rainsford*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*. *Mountagne*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. *Vere Bartie*, Barrister at Law, one of the Barrons of the *Exchequer*. Sir *William Scroggs*, one of the Justices of the *Common Pleas*. And *Sir Thomas Jones*, one of the Justices of the *Kings Bench*. Concerning all whom there it somthing too much to be said; and it is not out of a figure of speech, but for meer reverence of their Profession that I thus passe it over; considering also humane infirmity, and that they are all by their Pattens, *Durante Bene Placito*, bound as it were to the Good Behaviour. And it is a shame to think what triviall, and to say the best of them, obscure persons have and do stand next in prospect, to come and sit by them. Justice *Atkins* also by Warping too far towards the Laws, was in danger upon another pretense to have made way for some of them, but upon true Repentance and Contrition, with some *Almes Deeds*, was admitted to Mercy; And all the rest of the Benches will doubtlesse have profited much by his, and some other example. Alas the Wisdom and Probity of the Law went of for the most part with good Sir *Matthew Hales*, and Justice is made a meere property. This poysonous Arrow strikes to the very heart of Government, and could come from no Quiver but that of the Conspirators. What *French* Counsell, what standing Forces, what Parliamentary Bribes, what National Oaths, and all the other Machinations of wicked men have not yet

been able to effect, may be more compendiously Acted by twelve Judges in Scarlet.

The next thing considerable that appeared preparatory for the next session, was a Book that came out by publick Authority, Intitled, *Considerations touching the true way to suppresse Popery, &c.* A very good design, and writ, I beleive, by a very good man, but under some mistakes, which are not to be passed over. One in the Preface, wherein he saith, *The Favour here proposed in behalf of the Romanists, is not more than they injoy among Protestants abroad at this day.* This I take not to be true either in *Denmark*, or *Sweden* and some other Countrys were Popery is wholly suppressed; and therefore if that have been effected there, in ways of prudence and consisting with Christianity, it ought not to have been in so general words misrepresented.

Another is, *P.* 59, and 60. a thing ill and dangerously said, concluding; *I know but one Instance, that of* David *in* Gath, *of a man that was put to all these straits, and yet not Corrupted in his principles.* When there was a more Illustrious Example near him, and more obious.

What else I have to say in passing, is, as to the Groundwork of his whole design; which is to bring men nearer, as by a distinction betwixt the Church and Court of *Rome*, a thing long attempted, but ineffectually, it being the same thing as to distinguish betwixt the Church of *England*, and the *English* Bishops, which cannot be seperated. But the intention of the Author, was doubtlesse very honest, and the *English* of that Profession, are certainly of all *Papists* the most sincere and most worthy of favour; but this seemed no proper time to negotiate further then the Publick Convenience.

There was another Book likewise that came out by Authority, towards the Approach of the Session, Intitled, *A Packet of Advise to the men of Shaftsbury, &c.* But the name of the Author was concealed, not out of any sparke of mo-

Modesty, but that he might with more security exercise his Impudence, not so much against those Noble Lords, as against all Publick Truth and Honesty. The whole composition is nothing else but an Infusion of Malice, in the Froath of the Town, and the Scum of the *University*, by the Prescription of the Conspirators. Nor, therefore did the Book deserve naming, no more then the Author, but that they should rot together in their own Infamy, had not the first events of the following Session made it remarkable, that the Wizard dealt with some Superior Intelligence.

And on the other side, some Scattering papers straggled out in Print, as is usuall for the information of Parliament men, in the matter of Law concerning Prorogation, which all of them, it is to be presumed, understood not, but was like to prove therefore a great Question.

As to matters abroad from the Year 1674, That the Peace was concluded betwixt *England* and *Holland*; the *French* King, as a mark of his displeasure, and to humble the *English Nation*, let Loose his Privateers among our Merchant men: There was thenceforth no security of Commerce or Navigation notwithstanding the publick Amity betwixt the two Crowns, but at Sea they Murthered Plundred, made Prize and Confiscated those they met with. Their Picaroons laid before the Mouth of our Rivers, hovered all along the Coast, took our Ships in the very Ports, that we were in a manner blocked up by Water. And if any made application at his Soveraign *Port* for Justice, they were insolently baffled, except some few, that by *Sir, Ellis Leightons* Interest, who made a second prize of them, were redeemed upon easier Composition. In this manner it continued from 1674, till the latter end of 1676 without remedy, even till the time of the Parliaments Sitting: so that men doubted whether even the Conspirators were not Complices also in the matter, and found partly their own account in it. For evidence of what is said, formerly, the Paper at the end

of

of this Treatise annexed may serve, returned by some Members of the Privy Council to his Majesties Order, to which was also adjoyned a Register of so many of the *English* Ships as then came to notice which the *French* had taken, (and to this day cease not to treat our Merchants at the same rate.) And yet all this while that they made these intolerable and barbarous Piracyes, and depredations upon his Majestyes Subjects, from hence they were more deligently then ever supplied with Recruits, and those that would go voluntarily into the *French* service were incouraged, others that would not, pressed, imprisoned, and carried over by maine force, and constraint, even as the Parliament here was ready to sit down ; notwithstanding all their former frequent applications to the Contrary. And his Majesties Magazins were daily emptied, to furnish the *French* with all sorts of Ammunition, of which the following note containes but a small parcell, in comparison of what was daily conveyed away, under colour of Cockets for *Jarsy*, and other places.

A short account of some Amunition, &c. Exported from the Port of London *to* France, *from* June, 1675. *to* June 1677.

Granadoes without number, Shipt off under the colour of unwroght *Iron*.

Lead Shot	21	Tuns.
Gunpowder	7134	Barrels.
Iron Shot	18	Tun, 600 Weight.
Match	88	Tun, 1900 Weight.

Iorn Ordinance, 441. Quantity, 292 Tuns, 900 Weight.

Carriages, Bandileirs, Pikes, *&c.* uncertain.

Thus was the *French* King, to be gratified for undoing us by Sea with contributing all that we could rap and rend of Men, or Ammunition at Land, to make him more potent against us, and more formidable.

Thus

Thus are we at length arrived at this much controverted, and as much expected Session. And though the way to it hath proved much longer then was intended in the entry of this discourse, yet is it very short of what the matter would have afforded, but is past over to keep within bounds of this Volumn. The *15th* of *February* 1676 came, and that very same day, the *French* King appointed his March for *Flanders*. It seemed that his motions were in Just *Cadence*, and that as in a *Grand Balet*, he kept time with those that were tuned here to his measure. And he thought it a becoming *Galantrie*, to take the rest of *Flanders* our natural out work in the very face of the King of *England* and his *Petites Maisons* of Parliament.

His Majesty demanded of the Parliament in his Speech at the Opening of the Sessions, a *Supply for building of Ships, and the further continuance of the Additional Excise upon Beer and Ale*, which was to expire the *24th.* of *June* 1677, and *recommended earnestly a good correspondence between the two Houses, representing their last Differences as the reason of so long a Prorogation*, to allay them. The Lord Chancellor, as is usuall with him, spoiled all, which the King had said so well, with straining to do it better; For indeed the mischances of all the Sessions since he had the Seales, may in great part be ascribed to his indiscreet and unlucky Eloquence. And had not the Lord Treasure a farre more effectual way of Perswasion with the Commons, there had been the same danger of the ill successe of this Meeting, as of those formerly. Each House being now seated, the case of this long Prorogation had taken place so farre without doores, and was of that consequence to the Constitution of all Parliaments, and the Validity of all proceedings in this Session, that even the Commons, though sore against their inclination, could not passe it over, But they handled it so tenderly, as if they were afraid to touch it.

The first day, instead of the Question, Whether the Parliament

liament were by this unprecidented Prorogation indeed *Dissolved*; it was proposed, something ridiculously, Whether this *Prorogation* were *not an Adjournment?* And this Debate too, they Adjourned till the next day, and from thence they put it off till the *Munday* morning. Then those that had proposed it, yet before they would enter upon the Debate, asked, Whether they might have liberty? as if that had not been more then implied before, by Adjourning the Debate, and as if Freedome of speech, were not a Concession of Right, which the King grants at the first opening of all Parliaments. But by this faintnesse, and halfe-counsel, they taught the House to deny them it. And so all that matter was wrapped up in a cleanly Question, Whether their grand Committees should sit, which involving the Legitimacy of the Houses Sitting, was carried in the Affirmative, as well as their own hearts could wish: But in the Lords House it went otherwise. For the first day, as soon as the Houses were seperate, the *Duke of Buckingham*, who usually saith what he thinks, argued by all the Laws of Parliament, and with great strength of Reason, that this *Prorogation* was Null and this Parliament consequently Dissolved, offering moreover to maintaine it to all the Judges, and desiring as had been usuall in such Cases, but would not here be admitted, that even they might give their opinions. But my Lord *Frechvvell* as a better Judge of so weighty a point in Law, did of his great Courtship move, That the *Duke of Buckingham* might be called to the Barre, which being opposed by the Lord *Salisbury*, as an extravagant motion, but the *Duke of Buckinghams* proposal asserted, with all the *Cecilian* height of Courage and Reason, the Lord *Arundell* of *Trerise* a Peere of no lesse consideration, and Authority, then my Lord *Frechvvell*, and as much out of order, as if the Salt had been thrown down, or an Hare had crossed his way, Opening, renewed the motion for calling the *Duke* to the Barre; But there were yet too many Lords between,

and the *Couriers* of the House of Commons brought up advice every moment, that the matter was yet in agitation among them, So that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, had opportunity to appear with such extraordinary vigour, in what concerned both the Duke of *Buckingham's* person and his Proposal, that as the Duke of *Buckingham* might have stood single in any rational conteſt, so the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was more properly another Principal, than his Second. The Lord *Chancellour* therefore in answer undertook, on the contrary, to make the *Prorogation* look very formal, laying the best colours upon it, after his manner when Advocate, that the Cause would bear (and the worst upon his Opponents) but such as could never yet endure the Day-light. Thus for five or six hours it grew a fixed Debate, many arguing it in the regular method, till the expected news came, that the Commons were rose without doing any thing; whereupon the greater number called for the Question, and had it in the Affirmative, that the Debate should be laid aside.

And being thus flush'ed, but not satisfied with their Victory, they fell upon their Adversaries in cool blood, questioning such as they thought fit, that same night, and the morrow after, sentencing them, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the *Earl of Salisbury*, the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and the *Lord Wharton* to be committed to the Tower, under the notion of Contempt, during his Majesties, and the Houses pleasure. That Contempt, was their refusing to recant their Opinion, and aske pardon, of the King, and the House of Lords. Thus a *Prorogation* without President, was to be warranted by an Imprisonment without Example. A sad Instance and whereby the Dignity of Parliaments, and especially of the House of Peers, did at present much suffer, and may probably more for the future; For nothing but Parliament can destroy Parliament, If a House shall once be Felon of it selfe and stop its own breath, taking away that Liberty of speech,

which

which the King verbally, and of course, allows them, (as now they had done in both Houses) to what purpose is it comming thither? But it was now over, and by the weakness, in the House of Commons, and the Force in the House of Lords, this Presumptuous Session, was thus farre settled, and confirmed; so that henceforward men begun to wipe their Mouths, as if nothing had been, and to enter upon the Publick Businesse.

And yet it is remarkable that shortly after, upon occasion of a discourse among the Commons concerning *Libells* and *Pamphlets*, first one Member of them stood up, and in the face of their House, said, *That it was affirmed to him, by a person that might be spoke with, that there were among them, thirty, forty, fifty, God knows how many, Outlawed.* Another thereupon rose, and told them, *It was reported too, that there were diverse of the Members Papists*; A third, *That a multitude of them were Bribed, and Pensioners.* And yet all this was patiently hushed up by their House, and digested, being it seems, a thing of that Nature, which there is no Reply to; which may very well administer, and deserve a serious Reflexion, how great an opportunity this House of Commons lost, of ingratiating themselves, with the Nation, by acknowledging in this Convention their invalidity to proceed in Parliament, and by addressing to his Majesty as being *Dissolved*, for a *Dismission*. For were it so, that all the Laws of *England* require, and the very Constitution of our Government, as well as Experience, teaches the necessity of the frequent Meeting, and change of *Parliaments*, and suppose that the Question Concerning this *Prorogation*, were by the Custom of *Parliaments* to be justified, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that desires to maintaine the reputation of an honest man, would not have layed hold upon so plausible an occasion, to breake company when it was grown so Scandalous. For it is too notorious to be concealed, that near a third part of the House have bene-

ficiall Offices under his Majesty, in the Privy Councill, the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Houshold, the Revenue both in *England* and *Ireland*, or in attendance on his Majesties person. These are all of them indeed to be esteemed Gentlemen of Honor, but more or lesse according to the quality of their severall imployments under his Majesty, and it is to be presumed that they brought along with them some Honour of their own into his service at first to set up with. Nor is it fit that such an Assembly should be destitute of them to informe the Commons of his Majesties affaires, and communicate his Counsells, so that they do not by irregular procureing of Elections in place where they have no proper interest, thrust out the Gentelmen that have, and thereby disturbe the severall Countreys; Nor that they crounde into the House in numbers beyond modesty, and which instead of giving a Temper to their deliberations, may seem to affect the Predominance. For although the House of Peers, besides their supream and sole Judicature, have an equal power in the Legislature with the House of Commons, and at the second Thoughts in the Government have often corrected their errours: yet it is to be confessed, that the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses there assembled, are the Representers of the People of *England*, and are more peculiarly impowred by them to transact concerning the Religion, Lives, Liberties, and the Propriety of the Nation. And therefore no Honorable person, related to his Majesties more particular service, but will in that place and opportunity suspect himself, least his Gratitude to his Master, with his self-interest should tempt him beyond his obligation there to the Publick. The same excludes him that may next inherit from being Guardian to an Infant, not but there may the same affection and integritie be found in those of the Fathers side as those on the Mothers, but out of decent and humane caution, and in like manner however his Majesties Officers may be of as sound and untainted reputation, as the best,

beſt, yet common Diſcretion would teach them not to ſeek after and ingroſſe ſuch different Truſts in thoſe bordering Intreſts of the King and Contrey, where from the People they have no Legall advantage, but ſo much may be gained by betraying them. How improper would it ſeem for a Privy Counſellour if in the Houſe of Commons he ſhould not juſtify the moſt arbytraty Proceedings of the Councill Table, repreſent affaires of State with another face, defend any miſgovernment, patronize the greateſt Offenders againſt the Kingdome, even though they were too his own particular enemies, and extend the ſuppoſed Prerogative on all occaſions, to the detriment of the Subjects certaine and due Libertyes! What ſelf denyall were it in the Learned Counſell at Law, did they not vindicate the Miſdemeanours of the Judges, perplex all Remedies againſt the Corruptions and Incroachment of Courts of Judicature, Word all Acts towards the Advantage of their own Profeſſion, palliate unlawfull Elections, extenuate and advocate Publick Crimes, where the Criminall may prove conſiderable; ſtep into the chaire of a Money Bill and pen the Clauſes ſo dubiouſly, that they may be interpretable in *Weſtminiſter-Hall* beyond the Houſes intention, miſlead the Houſe, not only in point of Law, but even in matter of Fact, without any reſpect to *Veracity*, but all to his own further Promotion! What Soldier in Pay, but might think himſelf fit to be caſhiered, ſhould he oppoſe the increaſe of Standing Forces, the Depreſſion of Civill Authority, or the Levying of Mony by whatſoever means or in what Quantity? Or who of them ought not to abhorre that Traiterous Poſition, of taking Armes by the Kings Authority againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion? What Officer of the Navy, but takes himſelf under Obligation to magnify the expence, extoll the mannagment, conceal the neglect, increaſe the Debts and preſſe the Neceſſity, ringging and unringging it to the Houſe in the ſame moment, and repre-

senting it all at once in a good and a bad condition? should any Member of Parliament and of the Exchequer omit to transform the Accounts, conceal the Issues, highten the Anticipations, and in despight of himself oblidge whosoever chance to be the Lord Treasurer; might not his Reversioner justly expect to be put into present Possession of the Office? Who that is either concerned in the Customes, or of their Brethren of the Excise, can with any decency refuse, if they do not invent, all further Impositions upon Merchandise, Navigation, or our own domestick Growth and Consumption; and if the Charge be but Temporary, to perpetuate it? Hence it shall come that insteed of relieving the Crown by the good old and certain way of Subsidyes, wherein nothing was to be got by the House of Commons, they devised this Foraine course of Revenue, to the great Greivance and double charg of the People, that so many of the Members might be gratified in the Farmes or Commissions.

But to conclude this digression whatsoever other Offices have been set up for the use of the Members, or have been extinguished upon occasion, should they have failed at a Question, did not they deserve to be turned out? Were not all the Votes as it were in *Fee Farme*, of those that were intrusted with the sale? Must not *Surinam* be a sufficient cause of quarrel with *Holland*, to any Commissioner of the Plantations? Or who would have denyed Mony to continue the War with *Holland*, when he were a Commissioner of Prizes, of Sick and Wounded, of Transporting the *English*, or of Starving the *Dutch* Prisoners? How much greater then would the hardship be for those of his Majesties Household, or who attend upon his Royall Person, to forget by any chance Vote, or in being absent from the House, that they are his Domestick servants? Or that all those of the capacity abovementioned are to be look upon as a distinct Body under

under another Diſcipline; and whatſoever they may commit in the Houſe of Commons againſt the National Intereſt, they take themſelves to be juſtified by their Circumſtances, their hearts indeed are, they ſay, with the Country, and one of them had the boldneſs to tell his Majeſty, That he was come from Voting in the Houſe *Againſt his Conſcience*.

And yet theſe Gentlemen being full, and already in Imployment, are more good natured and leſs dangerous to the Publick, than thoſe that are hungry and out of Office, who may by probable computation, make another Third part of this Houſe of Commons. Thoſe are ſuch as having obſerved by what ſteps, or rather leaps and ſtrides, others of their Houſe have aſcended into the higheſt Places of the Kingdom, do upon meaſuring their own Birth, Eſtates, Parts, and Merit, think themſelves as well and better qualified in all reſpects as their former Companions. They are generally men, who by ſpeaking againſt the *French*, inveighing againſt the Debauches of Court, talking of the ill management of the Revenue, and ſuch Popular flouriſhes, have cheated the Countrys into Electing them, and when they come up, if they can ſpeak in the Houſe, they make a faint attaque or two upon ſome great Miniſter of State, and perhaps relieve ſome other that is in danger of Parliament, to make themſelves either way conſiderable.

In matters of money they ſeem at firſt difficult, but having been diſcourſt with in private, they are ſet right, and begin to underſtand it better themſelves, and to convert their Brethren: For they are all of them to be bought and ſold, only their Number makes them cheaper, and each of them doth ſo overvalue himſelf, that ſometimes they outſtand or let ſlip their own Market.

It is not to be imagined, how ſmall things in this caſe, even Members of great Eſtates will ſtoop at, and moſt of them will do as much for Hopes, as others for Fruition, but if their patience be tired out, they grow at laſt mutinous, and revolt to the Country, till ſome better occaſion offer.

Among theſe are ſome men of the beſt underſtanding, were they of equal integrity, who affect to ingroſſe all buſineſſe, to be able to quaſh any good motion by Parliamentary skill, unleſſe themſelves be the Authors, and to be the leading men of the Houſe, and for their naturall Lives to Continue ſo. But theſe are men that have been once fooled, moſt of them, and diſcovered, and ſlighted at Court, ſo that till ſome turn of State ſhall ſet them in their Adverſaryes Place, in the mean time they look Sullen, make big Motions, and contrive ſpecious Bills for the Subject, yet onely wait the opportunity to be the Inſtruments of the ſame Counſells, which they oppoſe in others.

There is a Third Part ſtill remaining, but as contrary in themſelves as Light and Darkneſſe; Thoſe are either the worſt, or the beſt of Men; The firſt are moſt profligate perſons, that have neither Eſtates, Conſciences, nor good Manners, yet are therefore picked out as the neceſſary men, and whoſe Votes will go furtheſt; The charges of their Elections are defraied, whatever they amount to, Tables are kept for them at *White Hall*, and through *Weſtminſter*, that they may be ready at hand, within Call of a Queſtion: All of them are received into Penſion, and know their Pay-day, which they never faile of: Inſomuch that a great Officer was pleaſed to ſay, *That they came about him like ſo many Jack dawes for Cheeſe, at the end of every Seſſion.* If they be not in Parliament, they muſt be in Priſon, and as they are Protected themſelves, by Priviledge, ſo they ſell their Protections to others, to the obſtruction ſo many years together of the Law of the Land, and the publick Juſtice; For theſe it is, that the long and frequent Adjournments are calculated,

but

but all whether the Court, or the Monopolizers of the Country Party, or theſe that profane the title of Old Cavaliers, do equally, though upon differing reaſons, like Death apprehend a Diſſolution. But notwithſtanding theſe, there is an handfull of *Salt*, a ſparkle of *Soul*, that hath hitherto preſerved this groſſe Body from Putrefaction, ſome *Gentlemen* that are conſtant, invariable, indeed *English* men, ſuch as are above *hopes*, or *fears*, or *diſſimulation*, that can neither flatter, nor betray their King, or Country: But being conſcious of their own Loyalty, and Integrity, proceed throw good and bad report, to acquit themſelves in their Duty to God, their Prince, and their Nation; Although ſo ſmall a Scantling in number, that men can ſcarſe reckon of them more then a *Quorum*; Inſomuch that it is leſſe difficult to conceive, how Fire was firſt brought to light in the World then how any good thing could ever be produced out of an Houſe of Commons ſo conſtituted, unleſſe as that is imagined to have come from the ruſhing of Trees, or batterring of Rocks together, by accident, ſo theſe by their claſhing with one another, have ſtruck out, an uſefull effect from ſo unlikely cauſes. But whatſoever caſuall good hath been wrought at any time by the aſſimilation of ambitious, factious, and diſappointed Members, to the little, but ſolid, and unbyaſſed Party, the more frequent ill effects, and conſequences of ſo unequall a mixture, ſo long continued, are demonſtrable and apparent. For while ſcarſe any man comes thither with reſpect to the publick ſervice, but in deſign to make, and raiſe his fortune, it is not to be expreſt, the Debauchery, and Lewdneſſe, which upon occaſion of Election to Parliaments, are now grown habitual thorow the Nation. So that the Vice, and the Expence, are riſen to ſuch a prodigious height, that few ſober men can indure to ſtand to be choſen on ſuch conditions. From whence alſo ariſe Feuids, and perpetuall Animoſityes, over moſt of the Countyes, and Corporations, while Gentlemen of Worth,

Spirit,

Spirit, and ancient Eſtates, and Dependances, ſee themſelves overpowered in their own neighbourhood by the Drunkneſſe, and Bribery, of their Competitors. But if nevertheleſſe any worthy perſon chance to carry the Election, ſome mercenary or corrupt Sheriffe makes a double Return, and ſo the Cauſe is handed to the Committee of Elections, who aske no better, but are ready to adopt his Adverſary into the Houſe if he be not Legitimate. And if the Gentleman agrieved ſeek his Remedy againſt the Sheriffe in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and the proofes be ſo palpable, that the Kings Bench cannot invent how to do him injuſtice, yet the major part of the twelve Judges, ſhall upon better conſideration vacate the Sheriffs Fine, and reverſe the Judgement: but thoſe of them that dare diſſent from their Brethren are in danger to be turned off the Bench without any cauſe aſſigned. While men therefore care not thus, how they get into the Houſe of Commons, neither can it be expected that they ſhould make any conſcience of what they do there, but they are onely intent how to reimburſe themſelves (if their Elections were at their own charge) or how to bargine their Votes for a Place, or a Penſion. They lift themſelves ſtreightways into ſome Court faction, and it is as well known among them, to what Lord each of them retaine, as when formerly they wore Coates, and Badges. By this long haunting ſo together they are grown too ſo familiar among themſelves, that all reverence of their own Aſſembly is loſt, that they live together not like Parliament men, but like ſo many Good-fellows, met together in a Publick Houſe to make merry. And which is yet worſe, by being ſo throughly acquainted, they underſtand their Number and Party, ſo that the uſe of ſo publick a Counſel is fruſtrated, there is no place for deliberation, no perſwading by reaſon, but they can ſee one anothers Votes through both Throats and Cravats before they hear them.

Where the Cards are ſo well known, they are only fit for a Cheat,

a Chest and no fair Gamster; but would throw them under the Table.

Hereby it is that their House hath lost all the antient weight and authority, and being conscious of their own guilt and weakness, dare not adventure, as heretofore, the Impeaching of any man before the Lords, for the most hainous Crimes of State, and the most Publick Misdemeanours; upon which confidence it is, that the Conspirators have so long presumed, and gone unpunished. For although the Conspirators have sometimes (that this House might appear still necessary to the People, and to make the money more glib) yeelded that even their own Names should be tossed among them, and Grievances be talked of, yet at the same time they have been so prevalent as to hinder any Effect, and if the House has Emancipated it self beyond Instructions, then by Chastizing them with *Prorogations*, frighting them with *Dissolution*, comforting them with long, frequent, and seasonable *Adjournments*, now by suspending, or diminishing their pensions, then again by increasing them, sometimes by a scorn, and other whiles by a favour, there hath a way been found to reduce them again under discipline. All these things and more being considered and how doubtful a foot this Long Parliament now stood upon by this long *Prorogation*, there could not have been a more Legal, or however no more wise and honest a thing done, then for both the Lords and Commons to have separated themselves, or have besought his Majesty to that purpose, lest the Conspirators should any longer shelter and carry on their design against the Government and Religion, under this shadow of *Parliamentary Authority*. But it was otherwise ordered, of which it is now time to relate the Consequences.

The four Lords having thus been committed, it cannot properly be said that the House of Peers was thenceforward under the Government of the Lord *Frechwel*, and the Lord *Arundel* of *Trelise*, but those two noble Peers had of necessity

cessity no small Influence upon the Counsels of that House; (having hoped ere this to have made their way also into his Majesties Privy Council) and all things fell out as they could have wished, if under their own direction. For most of them, who had been the most active formerly in the Publick Interest, sate mute in the House, whether, as is probable out of reverence to their two Persons, and confidence in their wisdom, they left all to their Conduct, and gave them a general Proxy, or whether, as some would have it, they were sullen at the Commitment of of the four Lords, and by reason of that, or the *Prorogation*, began now to think the Parliament, or their House to be *Non Compos*. But now therefore Doctor *Cary*, a Commoner, was brought to the Barre before them, and questioned concerning a written Book which it seems he had carried to be printed, treating of the Illegality of this *Prorogation*, and because he satisfyed them not in some Interrogatories, which no man would in Common honour to others, or in self preservation, as neither was he in Law bound to have answered, they therefore *Fined* him a thousand pounds, under that new Notion of Contempt, when no other Crime would do it, and sentenced him to continue close Prisoner in the *Tarvez* until payment. Yet the Commons were in so admirable good temper (having been conjured by the charming Eloquence of the Lord Chancellor, to avoid all misunderstanding between the two Houses) that their could no Member, or time, be found in all the session, to offer their House his Petition; much lesse would that breach upon the whole Parliament, by imprisoning the Lords, for using their liberty of speech, be entertained by them upon motion, for fear of entrenching upon the priviledge of the House of Peers, which it had been well for them if they had been as tender of formerly.

One further Instance of the Complexion of their House, at that season, may be sufficient. One Master *Huntington*, had before the Session been Committed Close Prisoner (for

that

that was now the mode, as though the Earl of *Northampton*, would not otherwise have kept him Close enough) by Order of the King and Councill, the Warrant bearing *for subornation of Perjury, tending to the Defamation of his Majesty, and his Government, and for Contemptuously Declaring, he would not answer his Majesty any Question, which his Majesty, or his Privy Councill should aske him.* As this Gentleman was hurried along to the *Tower*, he was so dexterous as to convey into a freinds hand passing by, a Blanke Paper onely with his name, that a Petition might be written above it, to be presented to the House of Commons, without rejecting for want of his own hand in the subscription. His Case notwithstanding the Warrant was thus.

He had met with two *Scotch* souldiers in Town returned from *Flanders*, who complained that many of their Countrey men had in *Scotland* been seised by force, to be carried over into the *French* service, had been detained in the Publick prisons till an oportunity to transport them: were heaved on board fast tyed and bound like malefactors, some of them struggling and contesting it, were cast into the Sea, or maimed, in conclusion an intolerable violence and barbarity used to compell them and this near the present session of Parliament. Hereupon this Gentleman considering how oft the House of Commons had addressed to his Majesty and framed an Act for recalling his Majesties Subjects out of the *French* service, as also that his Majesty had ishued his Proclamation to the same purpose, thought he might do a good and acceptable thing in giving information of it to the House as time served, But withall knowing how witnesses might possibly be taken off, he for his own greater security took them before a Master of Chancery, where they comfirmed by Oath the same things they had told him. But hereupon he was brought before his Majesty, and the Privy Councill, where he declared this matter but being here asked by the Lord Chancellour some insnaring and improper questions,

he modeſtly, as thoſe that were by affirmed, deſired to be excuſed from anſwering him further, but after this, anſwered his Majeſty with great humility and reſpect to divers queſtions. This was the ſubornation of Perjury, and this the Contempt to his *Majeſty*, for which he was made Cloſe Priſoner. Upon his Petition to the Houſe of Commons he was ſent for, and called in, where he is reported to have given a very clear accouut of the whole matter, and of his behaviour at the Council board. But of the two *Scotch* ſoldiers the one made himſelf perjured without being ſuborned by *Harrington*, denying or miſrepreſenting to the Houſe what he had ſworn formerly. And the other, the honeſter fellow it ſeems of the two, only was abſented. But however divers honourable *Members* of that Houſe atteſted voluntarily, that the ſoldiers had affirmed the ſame thing to them, and indeed the Truth of that matter is notorious, by ſeveral other ſoldiers that ſince came over, and by further account from *Scotland*. *Maſter Harrington* alſo carryed himſelf towards the Houſe with that modeſty, that it ſeemed inſeparable from him, and much more in his *Majeſties* preſence, ſo that their Houſe was inclined, and ready to have concerned themſelves for his Liberty. But *Maſter* Secretary *Williamſon* ſtood up having been a Principal Inſtrument in commiting him, and becauſe the other crimes rather deſerved Thanks and Commendation, and the Warrant would not Juſtify it ſelf, he inſiſted upon his ſtrange demeanour toward his *Majeſty*, decipherd his very looks, how truly it matters not, and but that his Majeſty and the Houſe remained ſtill living Fleſh and *Blood*, it might have been imagined by his diſcourſe that *Maſter Harrington* had the *Head* of a *Gorgon*. But this ſtory ſo wrought with, and amazed the Commons, that Mr. *Harrington* found no redreſſe, but might thank God that he eſcaped again into Cloſe Priſon. It was thought notwithſtanding by moſt men that his looks might have paſt any where but with a man of Sir *Joſephs* delicacy. For neither indeed had *Maſter Harrington* ever the ſame oportunities

that others of practiting the *Hocus Pocus* of the Face, of Playing the *French Staramuccie* or of living abroad to learn how to make the Plenipotentiary *Grimass* for his Majestys service.

And now to proceed, rather according to the Coherence of the matters, then to the particular Date of every days action. *By* this good humour, and the House being so free of the Liberty of their fellow Commoners, it might be guessed that they would not be lesse liberal of their Monythis Session.

The *Bill* therefore for 600000 l. Tax for eighteen month towards the building and furnishing of Ships easily passed without once dreaming any more of appropriating the Customes. For the Nation being generally possessed by the Members with the defects of the Navy, and not considering at all from what neglect it proceeded, the House of Commons were very willing, and glad to take this occasion, of confirming the *Authority* of their sitting, and to pay double the summe that in the former Sessions they had thought necessary toward the Fleet; hereby to hedg in, and purchase their own continuance. *And* for the same purpose they ingrossed the Act with so numerous a list of Commissioners, that it seemed rather a Register or Muster-roll of the Nation, and that they raised the whole kingdom to raise the mony. For who could doubt that they were still a lawful Parliament, when they saw so many gentlemens names (though by the Clerks hand onely) subscribed to an Act of their making? Onely Mr. *Seymour* the speaker, would have diminished the number in his own Country. For he had entred into a Combination, that none should serve the King or their Country thorow *Devonshire*, in any capacity but under his approbation, and therefore he highly inveghed against many Gentlemen of the best rank there, that ought him no homage, as persons disaffected, opposing their names at a Committe of the whole House, before he heard them. But being checked in his careere, he let fall the contest, with as much judgment and modesty, as he had begun it with boldnesse and indiscretion.

This

This Bill was not enough, but though the Nation had hoped to be relieved from the Additionall Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, which the Tripple League had foold them into, but was now of courſe to expire the 24*th*. of *June*, 1677. Yet a Bill for the continuing of it for three years more paſſed them likewiſe with little Difficulty. For the late fear of Diſſolution was ſtill ſo freſh upon them, that they would continue any thing to buy their own Continuance; and this Bill might conſidering their preſent want of Legality, have been properly intituled, *An Act for the Extraordinary Cecaſion of the Houſe of Commons*. But that they might ſeem within this tenderneſſe to themſelvs not to have caſt of all toward the People, they ſunk all former Grievances into a Bill of Chancery, knowing well that a ſute in that Court would be ſooner ended, then a Reformation of it be effected; and that thereby they might gain work enough to direct the whole Seſſion. And of their uſuall Bills for the Liberty of the Subjects, they ſent up only that of *Habeas Corpus*; pretending, and perhaps truly, that they durſt not adventure them either in their own or the Lords *Houſe* as they were now governed, leſt they ſhould be further enſnared by ſtruging for freedome. But leaſt they ſhould trouble themſelves too much with Religion, the Lords preſented them with two Bills of a very good name, but of a ſtrange and unheard of nature. The one intituled *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion by educating the Children of the Royall Family, and providing for the continuance of a Proteſtant Clergy*. The other, *An Act for the more effectuall Conviction and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants*. And with theſe they ſent down another for the further regulation of the Preſſes and ſuppreſſing all unlicenſed Books, with clauſes moſt ſevere and generall upon the ſubject, whereof one for breaking all Houſes whatſoever on ſuſpicion of any ſuch Pamphlet where by Maſter *L' Eſtranges* Authority was much amplifyed to ſearch

search any other House with the same liberty as he had Sir *Thomas Dolemans*.

But as to those two Bills of Religion, although they were of the highest consequence that ever were offered in Parliament since *Protestancy* came in (and went out of fashion) yet it is not to be imagined, how indisputable and easy a passage they found thorow the House of Peers, to the House of Commons; which must be ascribed to the great unanimity among them, after the committing of the four Lords, and to the Power of those two noble Peers, their Adversaries, which was now so established, that their sense being once declared, the rest seemed to yeild them an Implicite Faith and Obedience; and they were now in such Vogue, that whatsoever was spoken or done any where abroad in perfection, with great weight and judgement, men said it was *A la Fraischeville*. But if gently and acutely, *A la Treville*.

That Intituled, *An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Prosecution of Popish Recusants*, is too long to be here inserted, and the Fate it met with, makes it unnecessary, for as soon as it was first read a Gentle-man of great worth and apprehension spake short but roundly, and thorow against it.

A second immediately moved that it might not onely be thrown out, but with a particular mark of infamy. And it being without any more ado ready to be put to the Question, a third demanded that they should stay a while to see whether there were any one so hardy as to speak a word for it. Which no man offering at, it was forthwith rejected with this censure added to the Journal.

And because the Body of the Bill was contrary to the Title, This unusual sentence of the House of Commons, though excusable by the Crimes of the Bill, yet was not to be justified by the Rules of entercourse between the two Houses. But because all men have hence taken occasion to accuse the Lords Spiritual, as the Authours both of this Bill and the other, it is necessary to insert here the true Fact in their just vindication. It was above two years ago that a select Caball of great Ministers, had been consulting about Church matters, tho it seldom happens (nor did it in this instance) that the Statesmen are more fortunate in meddling with Religion, then the Churchmen with Government, but each marrs them with tampering out of their Province. This only difference, that what Ecclesiastical persons may do by chance or consequence, that harm the others commit on set purpose. For it was by these politicians, that these two *Cockatrice Eggs* were layd & by their assiduous incubation hatched. It is true indeed afterwards they took some few of the Bishops into Communication, and as it were for advice, upon what was before resolved. And to make this Bill go the better down, they flatterd them with the other, as wholy calculated forsooth to the Churches Interest. And by this means possibly they prevailed so far, that the Bishops both there and in the House, lesse vigorously opposed. But that the Bishopes were either the Contrivers or Promoters of the Bill, is a scandalous falshood, and devised by the Authors to throw the *Odium* off from themselvs upon the Clergy, and (the Bills that aimed at the ruine of the Church of *England* having miscarried) to compasse the same end by this defamation. A sufficient warning to the Clergy, how to be intrigued with the Statesmen for the future.

The second Bill follows.

The

An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion, by Educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; and for the providing for the continuance of a Protestant Clergy.

TO the Intent that the Protestant Religion, which through the blessing of God hath been happily Established in this Realm, and is at present sufficiently secured by his Majestys known Piety and Zeal for the preservation thereof, may remain secure in all future times.

Be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons in this Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That upon the demise of his Majesty that now is, to whom God grant a long and prosperous Reign, and upon the demise of any other King or Queen Regnant, that shall hereafter bear the Imperial Crown of this Realme, the Arch-Bishops, and all and every the Bishops of *England* and *Wales*, for the time being, as shall not be disabled by Sicknesse or other Infirmity, shall within fourty dayes next after such Demise, repaire to *Lambeth* House, and being there assembled, to the number of nine at least, shall cause to be fairely ingrosed in Parchment the Oath and Declaration following.

I. King or Queen of England, *do declare and Swear, that I do beleive that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration, thereof by any person whatsoever. So help me God.*

Which blanck shall be filled up with the Christian Name of such King or Queen, And thereupon the Prelates so

bled, ſhall without delay repaire to the perſons of ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, and in humble manner tender the ſaid Oath or Declaraiton, to be taken by ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, which they are hereby Authorized to Adminiſter, and ſhall abide in or near the Court by the ſpace of fourteen dayes, and at convenient time, as often as conveniently they may, they ſhall appear in the preſence of ſuch King and Queen ready to receive Commands for Adminiſtring the ſaid Oath and Declaration, which if ſuch ſucceeding King and Queen ſhall make and ſubſcribe in preſence of them, or any nine or more of them, they ſhall atteſt the doing thereof, by ſubſcribing their Names to a Certificate, Indorſed upon the ſaid Indorſment, and carry the ſame into the high Court of Chancery there to be ſafely depoſited amongſt the Records of the ſaid Court. And if ſuch King or Queen Regnant, ſhall refuſe or omit to make and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath, and Decalration, for the ſpace of fourteen dayes after ſuch humble tender made in manner aforeſaid, the ſaid Prelates may depart from the Court without any further attendance on this occaſion. But if at any time afterward ſuch King or Queen ſhall be pleaſed to take and ſubcribe the ſaid Oath, and Declaration, and ſhall ſignifie ſuch pleaſure to the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops or any nine or more of them, the ſaid Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, or ſuch nine or more of them, are hereby Authoriſed and required forthwith to Adminiſter the ſame, and to atteſt and certify the ſame in manner aforeſaid.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, ſhall refuſe or Omit to make ſuch Oath and Declaration, within the time therefore limitted, the ſame having been tendered in manner aforeſaid, or there ſhall be any Let, Obſtruction, or hindrance whatſoever, to their making the ſaid tender

in manner aforesaid, they are hereby enjoyned and required to endorse upon the said Engrosement such refusall or omission, or any obstruction, let or hinderance, that shall happen to them, whereby they are not able to make the said tender, according to the Act, and attest the same by subscribing their names thereunto, and carry the same into the high Court of Chancery, there to be safely deposited in manner aforesaid. And if any the said persons, hereby appointed to make the said tender, shall neglect or refuse to do the same, or in case of any refusal, or omission of making the said Oath and Declaration, or in case of any Obstruction or hindrance to the making of the said tender, shall refuse or neglect to make certificate thereof in manner aforesaid, that the *Arch-Bishoprick* or *Bishoprick* of the Person or Persons so refusing, shall be *Ipso Facto*, voide, as if he or they were naturally Dead, and the said Person or Persons shall be incapable, during his or their Life or Lifes, of that, or any other Ecclesiastical perferment.

And be it further Enacted, That if any *King* or Queen Regnant, at the time when the Imprial Crown of this Realme shall devolve, shall be under the age of fourteen years, and that upon his or her attaining the said age of fourteen years, the Arch-Bishops and Bishops shall, and are upon the like penalties hereby enjoyned, within fourteen dayes next after such attaining to the said Age, to assemble at the said place, and thereupon to do and perform all things in preparing and tendring the said Oath and Declaration, and making certificate of the taking or omission thereof, that are required by this Act to be done, upon the demise of any King or Queen Regnant.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That untill any succeeding *King* or Queen Regnant shall make the said Oath and Declaration, in manner aforesaid, such respective *King* or Queen shall not grant, confer, or dispose of any *Arch-Bishoprick* or any Bishoprick, in *England*

England or *Wales*, otherwise than in manner following, that is to say, within seven dayes after the Vacancy of any Bishopprick or See, shall be known to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* for the time being, he shall and is hereby required to send forth a Summons in Writing to all the Prelates in *England* and *Wales*, requiring them to meet at a certain convenient time and place, to be appointed by the summons, to consult concerning the nomination of fit persons for the supply of that Vacancy. And in case of vacancy of the Arch Bishopprick of *Canterbury*, the Arch Bishop of *York*, for the time being. And if that See shall be also vacant, such Prelate of the Realm, as by the *Statute* of 31 *H.* 8. ought to have place before the rest in *Parliament*, shall and are hereby required to issue forth the said Summons, and at the said time and place, so appointed, in manner aforesaid, the Prelates then assembled, being seven at the least, or the major part of them, shall by writing under their Hands and Seals, nominate three persons, natural born subjects of the King, and in holy Orders, for the supplying of the said Vacancy, and to be placed in such Order as the said Prelates so assembled or the major part of them shall think fit, without regard to dignity, antiquity, or any other form, which Writing shall be presented to the *King* who may thereupon appoint one of the three persons so to be named, to succeed in the said Vacancy. And the person so appointed or chosen, shall by due form of Law, according to the course now used, be made Bishop of that See. But if in 30 days after such presentment, of such Names, the *King* or Queen Regnant shall not Elect or appoint, which of the said three persons shall succeed in the said vacant See; or if after such Election or appointment there shall be any obstruction in pressing of the usual Instruments and formalities of Law, in order to his Consecration, then such person, whose Name shall be first written in the said Instrument of nomination, if there be no Election or appointment made by the *King*, within the time aforesaid, shall be the Bishop of the vacant See. And if there be an Electi-

on or appointment made, then the person so appointed shall be the *Bishop* of the vacant See. And the *Arch*-bishop of the Province wherein the said vacancy shall be, or such other person or persons, who ought by his Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws to Consecrate the said *Bishop*, shall upon reasonable demand, and are hereby required to make Consecration accordingly upon pain of forfeiting trebble damages and costs to the party grieved, to be recovered in any of his Majesties Courts at *Westminster*. And immediately after such Consecration, the person so consecrated, shall be, and is hereby Enacted to be compleat Bishop of the said vacant See, and is hereby vested in the Temporalties of the said Bishop-prick and in actual possession thereof, to all intents and purposes, and shall have a Seat and Place in Parliament, as if he had by due forms of Law been made Bishop, and had the Temporalities restored unto him; And in case the person so first named in the said Instrument of nomination, or the person so Elected by the King or Queen Regnant, shall then be a Bishop, so that no Consecration be requisite, then immediately after default of Election or appointment by the King, or immediately after such Election or appointment, if any shall be made within the said time, and any Obstructions in pressing the Instruments and Formalities in Law, in such cases used, the Bishop so first Named or Elected and appointed, shall thereupon, *ipso facto*, be translated, and become Bishop of that See, to which he was so nominated and appointed, and shall be, and is hereby vested in the Temporalties and actual possession thereof to all intents and purposes, and shall have his Seat and Place in Parliament accordingly, and his former See shall become vacant, as if he had been by due Forms of Law chosen and confirmed into the same, and had the Temporalities restored unto him.

And be it further Enacted That until the making the said Oath and Declaration in manner aforesaid, the respective succeeding Kings and Queens that shall not have made and subscribed the same, shall not grant or dispose of any

Denary, or Arch-Deconary, Prebendary, Maſtership of any Colledge, Parſonage, Viccarage or any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion whatſoever, to any other perſon, but ſuch perſon as ſhall be nominated for the ſame, unto the ſaid *King* or *Queen* Regnant, by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Guardians of the Spiritualities of the ſaid Arch-biſhop-prick, for the time being, if the ſame be within the Province of *Canterbury*, and by the *Arch*-biſhop-prick of *York*, or Guardians of the ſpiritualities of the ſaid *Arch*-biſhop-prick for the time being, if the ſame be within the Province of *York*, by writing under their reſpective Hands and Seals, and in caſe any ſuch as ſhall be accordingly nominated, ſhall not be able to obtein Preſentation or grant thereof within 30 dayes, next after ſuch nomination, then the ſaid perſon ſhall and may, and is hereby enabled, by force of the ſaid nomination, to require Inſtitution and Induction from ſuch perſon and perſons unto whom it ſhall belong to grant the ſame, who ſhall accordingly make Inſtitution and Induction, as if the ſaid perſon were lawfully preſented by the ſaid *King* or *Queen Regnant*, upon pain to forfeit to the party grieved, trebble damages and coſts, to be recovered in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*; and in caſes where no Inſtitution or Induction is requiſite the ſaid perſon ſo nominated, from and after the end of the ſaid 30 dayes, ſhall be and is hereby actually veſted in the poſſeſſion of ſuch Denary, *Arch*-Deaconary, Prebendary, Maſtership, Rectory, Parſonage or, Vicarage, Donative, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion and ſhall be full and abſolute proprietor and Incumbent thereof, to all Intents and Purpoſes as if he had obteyned poſſeſſion thereof upon a legall grant by the ſaid *King* or Queen Regnant, and proceeding thereupon in due form of Law.

Provided always and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, or the Lord Keeper of the great Seal of

England

England, for the time being, to paſs preſentations or grants to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, under value in the Kings Gift, in ſuch manner as hath been accuſtomed, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And be it further Enacted, That during ſuch time as any King or Queen Regnant, ſhall be under the ſaid fourteen yeares, no perſon that ſhall be Lord Protector, or Regent of this Realme, During ſuch minority, ſhall in any wiſe, either in the name of the King or Queen Regnant, or in his own name grant, confer or diſpoſe, of any Arch-Biſhopriek, Biſhoprik, Deanary, Prebendary, Maſter-ſhip of any Colledge, Perſonage, Vicarage, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion whatſoever, but the ſame ſhall be diſpoſed of in manner abovementioned, during ſuch miniority, untill ſuch Lord Protector or Regent, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the ſaid Oath and Declaration, (*mutatis mutandis*) before ſuch nine or more of the ſaid Prelates, as he ſhall call to Adminiſter the ſame unto him, which Oath and Declaration they are hereby Authorized and required to Adminiſter, under the penalyes aforeſaid, when they ſhall be called thereunto, by ſuch Lord Protector or Regent, for the time being.

And be it further Enacted, That the Children of ſuch ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant, that ſhall not have made and ſubſcribed the Oath and Declaration in manner aforſaid, ſhall from their reſpective Ages of ſeven years, untill the reſpective Ages of fourteen yeares, to be under the care and goverment of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and Biſhop of *London*, *Durham* and *Wincheſter*, for the time being, who are hereby enjoyned and required to take care, that they be well inſtructed and Educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, as it is now Eſtabliſhed by Law, and to the Intent that the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, for the time being, may effectally have the Care and Government of ſuch Children, according to the true intent of this Law; Be it

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Enacted, That after any such Children shall have attained their respective Ages of fourteen years, no person shall have, enjoy, bear and execute any office, service, imployment or place of attendment relateing to their persons, but such as shall be approved of in writing under the Hands and Seals of the said Arch-Bishops and Bishops in being, or the Major part of such of them as are there in being. And if any person shall take upon him to Execute any such Office, Service, Imployment or place of Attendance, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Act, he shall forfeit the sum of 100l. for every moneth he shall so Execute the same, to be recovered by any person that will sue for the same, in any Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information in any of his Majesties Courts at *Westminster*, shall also suffer Imprisonment for the space of six months without Bayle or Manieprize.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Person born within this Realme or any other of his Majesties Dominions, being a Popish Preist, Deacon or Eccleiiastical Person, made, or deemed, or professed by any Authority or Jurisdicton derived, challenged, or pretended from the See of *Rome*, or any Jesuite whatsoever shall be allowed to attend the person of the Queens Majesty that now is, or any Quen Consort, or Queen Dowager, that shall be hereafter, whilst they are within this Realme, for by pretence of such service, or any other matter, shall be Exempted from the penall Laws already made against such persons coming into being or remaining in this Kingdom, but shall be, and are hereby lyable to the utmost severity thereof.

Provided alwayes, That it shall and may be lawfull for Master *John Huddleston*, being one of the Queens Majesties Domestique servant, to attend her said Majesties service, any thing in this Act or any other Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

And

And be it further Enacted, That after the Death of the Queens Majeſty, to whom God grant a long and happy life, all lay perſons whatſoever, born within this Realme, or any other of his Majeſties Dominions, that ſhall be of the Houſhold, or in the ſervice or Employment of any ſucceeding Queen Conſort, or Queen Dowager, ſhall do and performe all things, in a late Act of this Parliament, Entituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*: required to be done and performed by any perſon, that ſhall be admitted into the ſervice or Employment of his Majeſty, or his Royal Highneſſe the Duke of *York*, which if they ſhall neglect or refuſe to do and perform, and nevertheleſſe, after ſuch Refuſall and execute any Office, Service, or Employment under any ſucceeding Queen Conſort, or Queen Dowager, every perſon ſo offending, ſhall be lyable to the ſame penalties and diſabilities, as by the ſaid Act are or may be inflicted upon the breakers of that Law Provided alwayes, That all and every perſon or perſons, that ſhall by vertue of this Act, have or claym any Arch-Biſhoprick, Biſhoprick, Deanry, Prebendary, Parſonage, Vicarage, or other Eccleſiaſtical Benefits, with Cure or without Cure, ſhall be and is hereby, enjoyned, under the like penalties and diſabilitys, to do and perform all things whatſoever, which by Law they ought to have done if they had obteyned the ſame, and by the uſuall courſe and form of Law, without the help and benefit of this Act.

And be it further Enacted, That all and every Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, appointed by this Act to Aſſemble upon the Demiſe of his Majeſty, or any other King or Queen *Regnant*, in order to repaire and make humble tender of the Oath and Declaration aforementioned, to any ſucceeding King or Queen, be bound by this Act to Adminiſter the ſame, ſhall before ſuch tender and Adminiſtration thereof, and are hereby required to Adminiſter the ſame Oath and Declaration, to one another, with ſuch of the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, at any time aſſembled as by the ſtatute 31. *H.* 8. ought to have precedence of all the reſt of them;

that ſhall be ſo aſſembled, is hereby Authorized and required, to adminiſter to the reſt of them, and the next in order to ſuch Prelates, is hereby Authorized and required to adminiſter the ſame to him, and the ſame Oath and Declaration being Engroſſed in other peice of Parchment, they and every of them are hereby enjoyned to ſubſcribe their names to the ſame, and to return the ſame into the high Court of Chancery, hereafter with their Certificate, which they are before by this Act appointed to make. And if any of the ſaid Arch-Biſhops or Biſhops, ſhall be under the ſame penalties, forfeiture, and diſabilities, as are hereby, appointed for ſuch Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, as neglect or refuſe to make any tender of the ſaid Oath and Declaration, to any ſucceeding King or Queen Regnant.

And be it further Enacted, That the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or Arch-Biſhop of *York*, or ſuch other Biſhop to whom it ſhall belong to iſſue forth ſummons to all the Biſhops of *England* and *Wales*, requiring to meet and conſult concerning the Nomination of fit perſons, for the ſupply of any Arch-Biſhopprick, or Biſhopprick, according to this Act, ſhall make the ſaid ſummons in ſuch manner that the time therein mentioned for the meeting the ſaid Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, ſhall not be more then forty days, diſtinct from the time of the Date, and Iſſuing out of the ſaid ſummons.

And be it further Enacted, That in caſe any perſon intituled by this Act, doth demand Conſecration, in order to make him Biſhop of any vacant See, in manner aforeſaid, ſhall demand the ſame of the Arch-Biſhop of the Province, and ſuch Arch Biſhop that ſhall neglect or refuſe to do the ſame, either by himſelf or by others Commiſſioned by him, by the ſpace of thirty days, that then ſuch Arch Biſhop ſhall over and beſides the trebble Dammages, to the party before appointed, forfeit the ſumme of 1000 *l.* to any perſon that will ſue for the ſame, in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter* by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or In-

Information, wherein no Eſſoyn, Protection, or Wager of Law, ſhall be allowed. And being thereof lawfully convicted, his Arch-Biſhopprick ſhall thereby become, *Ipſo Facto*, voyd as if he were naturally Dead, and he ſhall be and is hereby made uncapable and diſabled to hold, have, receive the ſame, or any other Biſhopprick, or Eccleſiaſtical Benefice whatſoever.

And be it further Enacted That after ſuch neglect or refuſall by the ſpace of thirty dayes after Demand, to make ſuch Conſecration, or in caſe of the vacancy of the Arch-Biſhopprick, ſuch Biſhop of the ſaid Province, for time being, who by the Statute of 31. *H.* 8. ought to have preſidents of all the reſt, calling to his Aſſiſtance, a ſufficient number of Biſhops, who are likewiſe required to aſſiſt, at ſuch time and place, as he ſhall thereunto appoint, ſhall and is hereby required, upon reaſonable Demands, to make ſuch Conſecration which ſhall be good and effectual in Law, as if the ſaid Biſhops were thereunto authorized, and empowred by Commiſſion from ſuch Arch-Biſhop, or any other perſon, or perſons, having authority to grant Commiſſion for the doing the ſame.

And be it further Enacted, That the ſaid Biſhops and every of them, are hereby enjoyned and required to perform the ſame, upon pain of forfeiting, upon any neglect or refuſal, trebble dammages to the party grieved, to be recovered with Coſts, in any of his Majeſties Courts of Record, at *Weſtminſter*, as alſo the ſum of 1000 *l.* to any perſon that will ſue for the ſame, in any of his Majeſties Courts at *Weſtminſter*, by any action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information, wherein no Eſſoyn, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed; and being lawfully convicted of any ſuch neglect or refuſal, his or their Biſhopprick that ſhall be ſo convicted, ſhall become, *ipſo facto*, void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and he or they are hereby made incapable, and diſabled to have, hold, or receive the ſame, or any other

Biſhopprick or any other Eccleſiaſtical Benefice whatſoever.

Yet this Notorious Bill had not the ſame accident with the firſt, but was read a ſecond time, and committed; wherein their Houſes curioſity ſeemes to have led them, rather than any ſatisfaction they had in the matter, or hope of amending it, For it died away, the Committee diſdaining, or not daring publickly to enter upon it, ſome indeed having, as is ſaid, once attempted it in private, and provided *R, S.* a fit Lawyer for the Chairman, but were diſcovered. And thus let theſe two Bills periſh like unſeaſonable and monſtrous Births, but the Legitimate iſſue of the Conſpirators, and upon the hopes of whoſe growth they had built the ſucceſſion of their Projects.

Hence-forward another Scene opens: The Houſe of Commons thorow the whole remainder of this Seſſion, falling in with ſome unanimity, and great Vigor againſt the *French* Counſels. Of which their Proceedings it were eaſy to aſſigne the more intimate Cauſes; but they having therein alſo acted according to the Publick Intereſt, we will be glad to ſuppoſe it to have been their only Motive. That buſineſs having occaſioned many weighty Debates in their Houſe, and frequent Addreſſes to his Majeſty, deſerves a more particular account. Nor hath it been difficult to recever it, moſt of them being unwilling to forget any thing they have ſaid to the purpoſe, but rather ſeeking to divulge what they think was bravely ſpoken; and that they may be thought ſome-body, often arrogating where they cannot be diſproved, another mans Conception to their own honour.

March the 6*th*. 1676, the House being resolved into a Committee of the whole House to consider of Grievances, Resolved.

That a Commitee be appointed to prepare an Addrsse, to represent unto his Majesty the danger of the Powver of France, *and to desire that his Majesty by such Alliances as he shall think fit, do secure his Kingdomes, and quiet the feares of his People, and for preservation of the* Spanish Netherlands.

May it please your Majesty.

WE your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled, find our selves Obliged in duty and faithfulnesse to your Majesty, and in discharge of the Trust reposed in us, by those vvhom vve represent, Most humbly to Offer to your Majesties consideration, that the mindes of your People are much disquieted, vvith the Manifest dangers arising to your Majesty, by the Grovvth and Powver of the French *King; Especially by the acquisition already made and the further progresse like to be made by him, in the* Spanish Nether-lands, *in the preservation and security vvhereof, vve humbly Conceive the Intrest of your Majesty, and the safety of your People, are highly concerned; and therefore vve most humbly beseech your Majesty, to take the same into your Royall care, and to strengthen your selfe vvith such stricter Alliances, as may secure your Majesties Kingdomes and secure and preserve the said* Spanish Nether-lands *and thereby quiet the Mindes of your Majesties People.*

This Addresse was presented to his Majesty the 16. of *March*, and his Majesties Answer was Reported to the House of Commons, by Mr. Speaker, the 17. of *March*, which was thus.

That

That his Majesty was of the Opinion of his two Houses of Parliament; That the Preservation of *Flanders* was of great consequence; And that he would use all meanes in his power for the Safety of his Kingdoms.

A motion was therefore made for a second Address upon the same subject, on *Monday March, 26th.* which here followeth.

May it please your Majesty,

WE *your Majesties most loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled, do with unspeakable joy and Comfort, present our humble thanks to your Majesty, for your Majesties gratious acceptance of our late Address, and that your Majesty was pleased in your Princely Wisdom to express your Concurrance and Opinion with your two Houses in reference to the Preservation of the* Spanish Netherlands.

And we do with most earnest and repeated desires implore your Majesty, That you would be pleased to take timely care to prevent those dangers that may arise to these Kingdoms by the great Power of the French *King, and the Progress he daily makes in those* Netherlands *and other places.*

And therefore that your Majesty would not defer the entring into such Allyances as may obtain those ends, and in case it shall happen, that in pursuance of such Alliances, your Majesty should be engaged in a War with the French *King, we do hold our selves obliged, and do with all humility and chearfulness assure your Majesty, That we your most loyal Subjects shall always be ready upon your signification thereof in Parliament, fully, and from time to time, to assist your Majesty with such Aydes and Supplies as, by the Divine assistance, may enable your Majesty to prosecute the same with Success.*

All

All which we do most humbly offer to your Majesty as the unanimous sence and desire of the whole Kingdom.

March 30*th.* 1677.

IT was alledged against this Address, that to press the King to make further Alliances with the Confederates against the *French* King, was in effect to press him to a War, that being the direct and unavoidable Consequence thereof.

That the Consideration of War was most proper for the King, who had the intelligence of Forraine Affaires, and knew the *Arcana Imperii*.

That it was a dangerous thing haftily to Incite the King to a War.

That our Merchant-Ships and Effects would be presently seised by the *French* King within his Dominions, and thereby he would acquire the value of, it may be near, a million to enable him to maintain the War against us.

That he would fall upon our Plantations and take Plunder and annoy them.

That he would send out abundance of Capers, and take and disturbe all our Trading Ships in these Seas, and the *Mediterranean*.

That we had not so many Ships of War as he, and those thirty which were to be built with the 600000 *l.* now given, could not be finished in two years.

That we had not Naval Stores and Ammunition, *&c.* sufficient for such a Purpose, and if we had, yet the season of the Year was too far advanced to set out a considerable Fleet: and we could not now lay in Beef, Pork, *&c.*

That when we were ingaged in a War, the *Dutch* would likely slip Collar, leave us in the War, and so Gain to themselves the singular advantage of sole trading in Peace, which

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is the Priviledge we now injoy, and ſhould not be weary of.

That it was next to Impoſſible, to make Alliances with the ſeveral parties as might be expected, ſuch and ſo various were the ſeverall Intereſts, and croſſe-biaſſes, of and amongſt the *Emperour*, the *Spaniard*, the *Dane*, the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburgh*, and the ſeverall leſſer Princes of *Germany, and others.*

That we might eaſily enter into a War, but it would be hard to find the way out of it, and a long War would be deſtructive to us; for though the *Emperour, French, Spaniard*, &c. uſe to maintain War for many years, yet a Trading Nation as *England* is, could not endure a long-winded War.

On the other ſide, it was ſaid;

That they did not Addreſſe for making War but making Leagues, which might be a means ro prevent War.

That the beſt way to preſerve Peace, was to be in a prepration for War

That admitting a War ſhould enſue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet that would tend to our peace, and ſafety in concluſion; for it muſt be agreeded, that if the Power of *France* were not reduced, and brought to a more equal Ballance with its neighbours, we muſt fight or ſubmit, firſt or laſt.

That it was Commonly the Fate of thoſe that kept themſelves Neutral, when their Neighbours were at VVar, to become a prey to the Conquerour.

That now or never was the Crititall ſeaſon to make VVar upon the *French*, whilſt we may haveſo great auxiliary conjunction; and if it were a dangerous and formidable thing to Encounter him now, how much more would it be ſo when this Opportunity was loſt, the Confederacy disbanded, a Peace made on the otherſide the water, and we left alone to withſtand him ſingle.

That

That as to his seizing our Merchants Effects, the Case was (the same and) no other now than it would be three years hence, or at any time when ever the War should commence.

That as to our Plantations and our Traders, we must consider, though the *French* was Powerful, he was not Omnipotent, and we might as well defend them as the *Dutch* do theirs by Guards, Convoys, *&c.* and chiefly when the *French* have so many Enemies, and we shall have so many Friends, as no other time is like to afford.

That they were sorry to hear we had not Ships, Stores, *&c.* equal to the *French*, and to our Occasions, and hoped it would appear to be otherwise.

That the Season was not so far spent, but that a Competent Fleet might be set out this Summer, and that however Deficient we might be in this kind, the *Dutch* were forward and ready to make an effectuall Supplement in that behalf.

That howsoever ill and false some men might esteem the *Dutch*, yet *Interest will not lie*, and it is so much their Interest to confine and bring down the *French*, that it is not to be apprehended, but they will steadily adhere to every Friend and every Alliance they shall joyn with for that purpose.

That however cross and divers the several Confederates and their Interests were, yet a common Alliance may be made with them against the *French*, and aswell as they have Allyed themselves together, aswell may the Allyance be extended to another, to be added to them, *viz.* the King of *England*.

That a Numerous and Vigorous conjunction against him is the way to shorten the work, whereas if he should hereafter attaque us singly, he would continue the War on us as long as he pleased, till he pleased to make an end of it and us together, by our final destruction.

That if now we ſhould neglect to make Alliances, we had no cauſe to expect to have one Friend, when the *French* ſhould make Peace beyond Sea, and ſingle us out for Conqueſt; for all that are conjoyned againſt the *French*, are provoked and diſobliged, by reaſon of the Great Number of *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, which have ſerved, and do ſtill ſerve the *French*, and it was proved at the Bar of this Houſe within this fortnight, That 1000 men were levyed in *Scotland*, and ſent to the *French* ſervice in *January* laſt, and ſome of them by force and preſſing.

Alſo that it was underſtood and reſented, that we had mainely contributed to this over grown Greatneſſe of the *French*, by ſelling *Dunkirk*, that ſpeciall Key and Inlet of *Flanders*, by making War on the *Dutch*, in 1665. Whereupon the *French* Joyned with the *Dutch*, under which ſhelter, and opportunity, the *French* King layd the foundation of this Great Fleet he now hath, buying then many Great Ships of the *Dutch*, and building many others: as to which, but for that occaſion, the *Dutch* would have denyed and hindred him, by not obſerving the Tripple League, and by our making a Joynt War with the *French* againſt the *Dutch*, in which, the *French* yet proceeds and Tryumphs. So that in this reſpect we have much to redeem and retreive.

That enmnity againſt the *French*, was the thing wherein this divided Nation did unite, and this occaſion was to be laid hold on, as an opportunity of moment amongſt our ſelves.

That the bent and weight of the Nation, did lean this way, and that was a ſtrong Inducement and Argument to Incline their Repreſentatives.

That it had been made appear, and that in *Parliament*, that upon the Ballance of the *French* Trade, this Nation was detrimented yearly, 900000 *l.* Or a Million, the value of the Goods Imported from *France*, annually ſo much exceeding that of the Goods Exported hence thither, whereby,

by it is evident, that such a sum of the Treasure and money of the Nation was yearly Exhausted and carryed into *France*, and all this by unnecessary Wines, Silks, Ribbons, Feathers, *&c.* The saving and retrenching of which Expence, and Exhaustion, will in a Great Degree serve to maintaine the Charg of a War.

That the present, was the best time for the purpose, and that this would give Reputation to the Confederates, and Comfort and Courradge to our bestfriends Imediately, and safety to our selves in futurity, against the *Old perpetuall Enemy of England.*

The second Addresse was presented to his Majesty, *March* the 30. and till the 11 of *Aprill*, they received no Answer. Insomuch that it became doubtfull, whether the mony Bill, would be accepted or no, and if the Commons made any difficulty in passing them, unlesse they were first secured against the *Frenuh* Intrest, it seemed that the supply would be rejected, by the Conspirators good will; And that even the building of Ships, how necessary soever, might rather have been respited again, as it had in former Sessions, and for the whole long *Prorogation.* But their House was farr from such Obstinacy. And the news being come of the taking both of *Valenciennes* and *St. Omar*, with the defeate of the Prince *of Orange* at *Mont-Cassel*, so that now there was no further danger of preventing or Interrupting the successes of the *French-King*, this Campagn, at last therefore upon the 11, of *Aprill*, this following answer was offerred to their House, from his Majesty by Master Secretary *Coventry.*

C. R.

His Majesty having considered your last Addresse, and finding some late alteration in affaries abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in mind, That the only way to prevent the dangers which may arise to these Kingdoms, must be by putting his Majesty timely in a Condition to make such fitting preparation, as may enable him to do what may be most for the seccurity of them. And if for this reason you shall desire to sit any longer time, his Majesty is content you may Adjourn now before Easter, *and meet again suddenly after, to ripen this matter, and to perfect some of the most necessary Bills now depending.*

Given at our Court at *White-Hall*, the 11. of *April.* 1677.

Somewhat was said on both these matters, but the Greater debate of them, was Adjorned till next day, and then reassumed.

Then it was moved that the House should Adjorn till after *Easter*, and then meet again, with a Resolution to enable the King to make such preprations as should be thought necessary, and also passe some necessary Bills for the Kingdome, which if they did not, the blame of the neglect, must rest upon themselves, and it would be observed, they had not sat to any effect this four yeares; and that now they had a session, and had given a Million, they did take little care to redresse Greviances, or passe Good Laws, for the People, and that they should not be able to give any account of themselves

ſelves to their Neighbours in the Country, unleſſe they ſhould face them down, that there was no Greviance or Miſcheife in the Nation to be Redreſſed, and that the King had ſtopped their mouths, and laid it to them by offering to them to ſit longer.

Others ſaid, they ſhould perfect the two money Bills, and give the King Eaſe, and take another time to conſider further of Religion, Liberty, and Property, eſpecially ſeeing all Bills now depending, would be kept on foot, the Intended Receſſe, being to be but an Adjournment, that they had very good Laws already, and would give their ſhares in any new ones, they were making, to be in the Country at the preſent time, that it was neceſſary for them to be there the 10*th*. of *May*, to Execute the Act for 600000 *l*. *&c*. And ſome time was to be allowed for their Journyes, and reſt after it, that *the paſſing ſome neceſſary Bills*, came in the end of the Kings Meſſage, and by the by; For his Majeſty ſaith, *That if for this Reaſon*, that is, for making of preparations, *&c*, *they ſhould deſire to ſit longer*, and if ſo, then alſo take the opportunity of paſſing ſuch Bills. So the ſence and inclination of the Houſe was to riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been before intimated and expected.

Then they fell upon the main conſideration of the Meſſage, and to make a preſent Anſwer.

The Secretary and other Miniſters of State, ſaid, that the Alteration of Affaires which his Majeſty took notice of, was the ſucceſſe of the *French* againſt the Prince of *Orange*, in the Battel, and their proceeding to take *Cambray*, and St. *Omars*.

Thus by Inches or rather great meaſures they were taking in

Flan-

Flanders, which was reckoned the Out-work of *England*, as well as *Holland*) and they ſaid plainely, nothing could put his Majeſty in a condition to make fitting preparations to preſerve the Kingdom, but ready money.

To this it was anſwered, that it was not proper nor uſuall to aske money at the end of a Seſſion, and it was fit that Alliances ſhould be firſt made, and that they ſhould Adjourn rather till that were done, for they ought not to give money till they knew for what, and it was clearely ſpoken and made out to them, that if there were no Summers War, there was money enough given already.

It was replyed, That they had not direction from his Majeſty as to what he had reſolved, and it might be not convenient to diſcover and publiſh ſuch things, but they would offer their Gueſſe and Ayme at ſome things, if there were any Approaches towards War, though they ought to conſider and compute like him in the Goſpel, whether with ſuch a force they could encounter a King that came againſt them with ſuch a force, they ſhould think of providing a Guard for the Iſle of *Wight*, *Jerſey*, *Carnſey and Ireland*, and ſecure our Coaſts, and be in a defenſive poſture on the Land, we might be Attaqued in a night.

Alſo there would be a neceſſity of an extraordinary Summer Guard at Sea, his Majeſty did uſe to apply 40c000 *l.* yearly out of the Cuſtomes upon his Fleets, (the very harbour Expence) which in Anchorage, *Mooring*, Docks, and Repaires, *&c.* was 110000 *l. per annum*, and he was now ſetting forth 40 Sbips for the Summer Gard, but if there were a diſpoſition towards War, there muſt be more *Shipps* or at leaſt thoſe muſt be more fully manned, and more ſtrongly appoynted, and furniſhed the more, eſpecially if the Breach were ſudden, for otherwiſe, our Trading Ships at *Sea*, as well as thoſe Ships and Goods in the *Freneh* Ports, would be expoſed. Now it is reaſonable that the remander which was above and beyond the Kings ordinary Allowance,

ſhould

should be supplyed by the Parliament, and the Extraordinary preparations of this kind for the present, could not amount to lesse than 200000 *l.*

It was answered, that it was a Melancholy thing to think *Jersey*, &c. Were not well enough secured, at least as well as in the year 1665, when we alone had War with the *French* and *Dutch* too, and yet the Kings Revenue was lesse then than now: That the Revenue of *Ireland* was 50000 *l. per annum*, beyond the Establishment (that is, the Civill, Military, and all payments of the Government) which if not sent over hither, but disposed there, would suffice to defend that Kingdom, and they remember that about a moneth ago, they were told by some of these Gentlemen, that the *French* King would not take more Townes in *Flanders* if he might have them, but was drawing off to meet the *Germans*, who would be in the field in *May*, and therefore it was strang, he should be represented now as ready to Invade us, and that we must have an Army raised and kept on our Islands and Land. No they would not have that, it would be a Great matter in the Ballance, if the Kings Subjects were withdrawn from the *French* service, and applyed on the other side, and tell that were done, that we did continue to be Contributary to the Greatnesse of *France*. But a Fleet would protect our whole. Ships are the defence of an Island and thereby we may hope to keep at a distance, and not apprehend, or prepare to meet him at our Dores, he Learns by *Sicily* what it is to Invade an Island, he is not like to attempt an Invasion of us, till he hath some Masterie at Sea, which is Impossible for him to have so long as he is diverted and imployed at Land in the *Mediterranean*, and in the *West Indies*, as he is.

And as to our *Merchants Ships* and Goods, they are in no more danger now then they were in any War whensoever. Nay; there was more expectation of this, then there was of the last VVar, for the first notice we or the *Dutch* had

had of that Breach, was the Attempt upon their *Smyrna* Fleet.

Alſo it is obſerved, that what was ſaid a fortnight ago (that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to lay in Beef, and it would ſtink) was admitted to be a miſtake, for that now it was urged, that a greater and better appointed Fleet muſt be furniſhed out, but ſtill it was inſiſted on, that they were in the dark, his Majeſty did not ſpeak out, that he would make the deſired Alliances againſt the growth of *France*, and reſolve with his Parliament to maintain them, and ſo long as there was any coldneſs or reſervedneſs of this kind, they had no clear grounds to grant money for preparations. His Majeſty was a Prince of that Goodneſs and Care, towards his People, that none did diſtruſt him, but there was a diſtruſt of ſome of his Miniſters, and a Jealouſie that they were under *French Influences*; and Complaints and Addreſſes had been made againſt them; and upon the diſcourſe of providing for the ſafety of the Nation, it being ſaid we might be ſecured by the *Guarranty* of the General Peace, it was reflected on as a thing moſt pernitious to us, and that our money and endeavours could not be worſe applied, than to procure that Peace. Articles are not to be relied on. All that they deſired was, that his Majeſty and his People Unanimouſly, Truly, Sincerely and Throughly declare and engage in this buſineſs, with a mutual confidence ſpeaking out on both ſides, and this, and nothing but this, would diſcharge and extinguiſh all jealouſies.

But it was Objected, It was not convenient to diſcover his Majeſties ſecret purpoſes in a Publick Aſſembly, it might be too ſoon known abroad, and there was no reaſon to diſtruſt his Majeſty, but that being enabled, he would prepare and do all things expedient for the Kingdom.

It was anſwered, That it was uſual for Forraine Miniſters to get notice of the Councils of Princes, as the Earl of *Briſtol* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, in the laſt part of *King James*'s Reign, pro-

procured Coppies, and often the ſight of the Originals of of Diſpatches, and Cabinet papers of the *King* of *Spain*. But acknowledging that his *Majeſties* Councels cannot be penetrated by the *French*, yet the things would in a ſhort time diſcover themſelves: beſides they ſaid, they did not much deſire ſecreſy, for let the King take a great Reſolution, and put himſelf at the Head of his Parliament and People in this weighty and worthy Cauſe of *England*, and let a flying Poſt carry the news to *Paris*, and let the *French* King do his worſt.

His Majeſty never had nor never will have cauſe to diſtruſt his People. In 1667, in confidence of our Aid, he made a League without advice of Parliament (commonly called the *Tripple League*) which was for the Intereſt of *England*, and whereby his Majeſty became the Arbiter of *Criſtendom*, and in the Name and upon the Account of that, the Parliament gave him ſeveral Supplies.

In 1672, He made War without the Advice, of Parliament, whith War the Parliament thought not for the Intereſt of *England* to continue, yet even therein they would not leave him, but gave him 1200000 *l.* to carry himſelf on & out of it.

How much more are they concerned and obliged to ſupply and aſſiſt him in theſe Alliances (and War if it enſue) which are ſo much for the Intereſt of *England*, and entered into by the preſſing Advice of Parliament.

We hope his Majeſty will declare himſelf in earneſt, and we are in earneſt, having his Majeſties heart with us, *Let his hand Rot off that is not ſtretcht out for this Affair*, we will not ſtick at this or that ſum or thing, but we will go with his Majeſty to all Extremities.

We are now affraid of the *French* King, becauſe he has great force, and extraordinary thinking men about him, which mannage his affaires to a wonder, but we truſt his Majeſty will have his Buſineſs mannaged by thinking men, that will be provident and careful of his Intereſt, and not

ſuffer him to pay, *Cent. per Cent.* more than the things are worth, that are taken up and uſed, and if the work be entred upon in this manner, we hope *England* will have *Engliſh* ſucceſs with *France*, as it is in Bowling, if your Bowl be well ſet out, you may think, and it will go to the Mark.

Were the thing clear and throughly undertaken, there would be leſs reaſon to diſpute of time; there never was a Council but would ſit on *Sunday*, or any day for ſuch Publick Work.

In fine, they ſaid, the buſineſs muſt lye at one door or another, and they would not for any thing, that it ſhould ſtay in their hands.

And although they ſhould hope in an Exigence his Majeſty would lend to his People, who had given ſo much to him, yet they ſaid they could not leave him without providing him a ſum of money, as much as he could uſe between this and ſome convenient time after *Eaſter*, when he might, if he pleaſe command their full attendance, by ſome publick Notification, and this was the mentioned ſum of 200000 *l.* The Expedient they provided for doing this, was adding a Borrowing Clauſe to the Bill for almoſt 600000 *l.* (ſuch an one as was in the *Poll Bill*) the Effect of which is to enable his Majeſty preſently to take up, on the Credit of this Bill 200000 *l.* ready money at 7 *l. per Cent. per annum* Intereſt.

And this they ſaid might now be done, though the Bill were paſſed by them, and alſo (ſave that they had made the above mentioned amendment) by the Lords, for that *Poll Bill* was explained by another Act paſſed a few days after, in the ſame ſeſſion. But in *Hackwells Modus tenendi Parli. pag.* 173, was a more remarkable Preſident, and exact in the Point.

But after ſome Diſcourſe of ſetting looſe part of this 600000 *l. &c.* they reflected that this 600000 *l. &c.* was appropriate for the building of Ships, and they would not have

have this appropriation unhinged by any means, and thereupon resolved to annex the borrowing Clause to the Bill for continuing the additional duty of Excise, for three years, which was not yet passed; against which it was Objected, That it was given for other purposes, *viz.* to give the King ease to pay Interest for his Debts, *&c.* But on the contrary it was answered, that the Preamble speakes not of his Debts, but *His extraordinary Occasions*; But besides, they did not intend to withdraw so much of their Gift, but did resolve to re-emburse his *Majesty* the 200000 *l.* so much of it as he should lay out in extraordinary Preparations.

But then it was Objected, that this would be a kind of denouncing of War, and that 200000 *l.* was a miserable, mean and incompetent sum to defend us against those whom we should provoke.

But it was Answered, That it was but an Earnest of what they intended, and that they were willing to meet again and give further Supplies: Besides the *French* King was not Formidable for any great hurt that he could do us during the Confederacy, there were several Princes of *Germany*, as the Arch-Bishop of *Metz* and *Triers*, the *Palsgrave*, the Duke of *Newburgh*, *&c.* which are at War with him and are safe; and yet they are much more weak and inconsiderable than we; but they are defended not by their own strength, but by the whole Confederacy.

The Debate concluded in Voting the following Answer, which was presented to his *Majesty* by the Speaker of the whole House, *Friday April* the 13*th.*

May it Pleaſe your Majeſty.

WE your Majeſties *moſt dutifull and Loyall ſubjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do with, Great ſatisfaction of mind, Obſerve the regard your* Majeſtie *is pleaſed to Expreſſe to our former* Addreſſes, *by Intimating to us the late alterations of* Affaires *abroad, and do return our moſt humble thanks, for your* Majeſties *moſt Gratious Offer made to us thereupon in your late meſſage: and having taken a ſerious deliberation of the ſame, and of the preparation your* Majeſty *hath therein Intimated to us were fitting to be made, in order to t'oſe publick ends, we have for the preſent provided a ſecurity in a Bill for the* Additional *duty of Exciſe, upon which your* Majeſty *may raiſe the ſum of* 200000 *l. And if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call us together again for this purpoſe, in ſome ſhort time after* Eaſter, *by any publick ſignification of your pleaſure, commanding our* Attendance; *we ſhall at our next meeting not only be ready to re-imburſe your Majeſty what Sums of money ſhall be expended upon ſuch Extraordinary preparations as ſhall be made in purſuance of our former Addreſſes; but ſhall likewiſe with thankfull hearts proceed then, and at all other times, to furniſh your Majeſty with ſo large proportion of aſſiſtance and ſupplyes upon this Occaſion, as may give your Majeſty and the whole world, an ample Teſtimony of our Loyalty and affection to your Majeſties ſervice and as may enable your Majeſty by the help of Almighty God, to maintain ſuch ſtricter Alliances as you ſhall have entred into againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.*

Easter Mondy, Aprill 19th. Another Meſſage in writing from his Majeſty, was delivered by Secreatary *Williamſon* to the Houſe of Commons (*Viz.*)

C. R.

"HIS Majeſty having conſidered the Anſwer of this "Houſe to the laſt meſſage about enabling him to "make fitting preparations for the ſecurity of theſe King-"doms, finds by it that they have only enabled him to borrow "200000 *l.* upon a *Fond* given him for other uſes; His "Majeſty deſires therefore this Houſe ſhould know, and he "hopes they will alwayes believe of him, that not only that "*Fond*, but any other within his Power ſhall be engaged to "the utmoſt of his power for the preſervation of his King-"doms; but as his *Majeſties* condition is (which his *Ma*-"jeſty doubts not but is as well known to this Houſe as him-"ſelf) he muſt tell them plainly, that without the ſumme "*Six hundred thouſand pounds*, or Credit for ſuch a ſumme, "upon new *Fonds*, it will not be poſſible for him to ſpeak "or act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the ends of their "ſeverall Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to "much Grearer danger: His Majſtyes doth further ac-"quaint you that having done his part, and laid the true ſtate "of things before you, he will not be wanting to uſe the beſt "meanes for the ſafety of his People, which his preſent "Condition is Capable off.

Given at our Court at *White-Hall*,
April. 16. 1677.

There upon the Houſe fell into preſent Conſideration of an Anſwer, and in the firſt place, it was Agreed to return Great thanks to his Majeſty for his Zeal for the ſafety of the Kingdome, and the hopes he had given them that he

he was convinced and satisfied, so as he would speak and act according to what they had desired, and they resolved to give him the utmost assurance, that they would stand by him, and said no man could be unwilling to give a fourth or third part to save the residue. But they said they ought to consider that now they were a very thine House, many of their Members being gone home, and that upon such a Ground as they could not well blame them; for it was upon a presumption that the Parliament should rise before *Easter*, as had been intimated from his Majesty within this fortnight, and universally expected since, and it would be un-Parliamentary, and very ill taken by their Fellow-members, if in this their absence they should steal the Priviledge of granting money, and the Thanks which are given for it; That this was a National business if ever any were, and therefore fit to be handled in a full National Representative, and if it had hitherto seemed to go up-hill, there was a greater cause to put the whole shoulder to it, and this would be assuring, animating, and satisfactory to the whole Nation. But they said it was not their mind to give or suffer any delay, they would desire a Recess but for three weeks or a moneth at most.

And the 200000 *l.* which they had provided for present use, was as much as could be laid out in the mean time, tho his Majesty had 600000 *l.* more ready told upon the Table.

And therefore they thought it most reasonable and advisable that his Majesty should suffer them to Adjorn for such a time; in the Interim of which his Majesty might if he pleased, make use of the 200000 *l.* and might also compleat the desired Alliances, and give notice by Proclamation to all Members to attend at the time appointed.

The Answer is as followeth.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

WE your Majeſties moſt Loyal Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, having conſidered your Majeſties laſt Meſſage, and the gratious expreſſions therein contained, for imploying your Majeſties whole Revenue at any time to raiſe money for the preſervation of your Majeſties Kingdoms; find great cauſe to return our moſt humble thanks to your Majeſty for the ſame, and to deſire your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, that you ſhall find as much duty and affection in us, as can be expected from a moſt Loyal People, to their moſt gratious Soveraign, and whereas your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſignify to us, that the ſum of 200000 l. is not ſufficient without a further Supply, to enable your Majeſty to Speak or Act thoſe things which are deſired by your People; We humbly take leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that many of our Members (being upon an expectation of an Adjournment before Eaſter) are gone into their ſeveral Countries, we cannot think it Parliamentary in their abſence to take upon us the granting of money, but do therefore deſire your Majeſty to be pleaſed that this Houſe may Adjourn it ſelf for ſuch ſhort time, before the ſum of 200000 l. can be expended, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, and by your Royal Proclamation to command the attendance of all our Members at the day of Meeting; by which time we hope your Majeſty may have ſo formed your Affaires, and fixed your Alliances, in purſuance of our former Addreſſes, that your Majeſty may be gratiouſly pleaſed to Impart them to us in Parliament; and we no wayes doubt but at our next Aſſembling, your Majeſty will not only meet with a Complyance in the Supply your Majeſty deſires, but withall ſuch farther Aſſiſtance as the poſture of your Majeſties Affaires ſhall require; in confidence whereof we hope your Majeſty will be encouraged in the mean time to ſpeak and act ſuch things as your Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for attaining thoſe great ends, as ye have formerly repreſented to your Majeſty.

And

And now the money Bill being Paſſed both Houſes, and the *French* having by the ſurrender of *Cambray* alſo to them, perfected the Conqueſt of this Campagne, as was projected, and the mony for further preparations having been asked, onely to gain a pretence for refuſing their Addreſſes, the Houſes were adjourned *April* the 16th, till the 21 of *May* next. And the rather, becuaſe at the ſame moment of their riſing, a Grand *French* Ambaſſador was coming over. For all things betwixt *France* and *England* moved with that punctual Regularity, that it was like the Harmony of the Spheres, ſo Conſonant with themſelves, although we cannot hear the muſick.

There landed immediately after the Receſſe, the Duke of *Crequy*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, Monſieur *Barrillon*, and a Traine of three or four hundred perſons of all Qualities, ſo that the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of *France*, with ſo many of their Commons, meeting the King at *Newmarket*, it looked like another Parliament, And that the *English* had been Adjourned, in order to their better Reception. But what Addreſſe they made to his Majeſty, or what Acts they paſſed, hath not yet been Publiſhed. But thoſe that have been in diſcourſe were,

An Act for continuing his Majeſties ſubjects in the ſervice of France.

An Act of abolition of all Claymes and demandes from the ſubjects of France, on Account of all Prizes made of the Engliſh at Sea, ſince the year 1674 till that day, and for the future.

An Act for marring the Children of the Royal Family to Proteſtants Princes.

An Act for a further ſupply of French mony.

But becauſe it appears not that all theſe, and many others of more ſecret nature, paſſed the Royall Aſſent, it ſufficeth thus far to have mentioned them. Onely it is moſt certain, that although the *English* Parliament was kept aloofe from the

the buſineſſe of War, Peace, and Alliance, as Improper for their Intermedling, & Preſumptuous. Yet with theſe 3 Eſtates of *France* all theſe things were Negotiated and tranſacted in the Greateſt confidence. And ſo they were Adjourned from *New-Market* to *London*, and there continued till the return of the *English* Parliament, when they were diſmiſſed home with all the ſignes and demonſtrations of mutuall ſatiſfaction.

And for better *Preparations* at home, before the Parliament met, there was Printed a ſecond Packet of Advice to the men of *Shaftsbury*, the firſt had been ſold up and down the Nation, and Tranſmitted to *Scotland*, where 300 of them were Printed at *Edenburgh*: and 40 Copyes ſent from thence to *England* fariely bound up and Guilded, to ſhew in what great Eſtmiation it was in that Kingdome; But this, the ſale growing heavy, was diſperſed as a Donative all over *England*, and it was an Incivilty to have enquired from whence they had it, but it was a Book though it came from Hell, that ſeemed as if it dropped from Heaven, among men, ſome Imagined by the weight and the wit of it, that it proceeded from the Two Lords, the Black and the White, who when their care of the late Sitting was over, had given themſelves *Caviere*, and after the Triumphs of the *Tongue*, had Eſtabliſh thoſe Trophes of the *Pen*, over their Impriſoned Adverſaries. But that had been a thing unworthy of the *Frechvvellian* Generoſity, or *Treriſian* Magnanimity; And rather befits the mean malice of the ſame Vulgar Scribler, hired by the Conſpirators at ſo much a ſheet, or for day wages; and when that is ſpent, he ſhall for leſſe mony Blaſpheme his God, Reviſe his Prince, and Belye his Country, if his former Books have Omitted any thing of thoſe Arguments; and ſhall Curſe his own Father into the Bargain.

Monday, May 21. 1677.

The Parliament met according to their late Adjornment, on, and from *April* 16*th.* to *May*, 21, 1677.

There was no ſpeech from the King to the Parliament, but in the Houſe of Commons.

This Meeting was opened with a verball meſſage from his Majeſty, delivered by Secretary *Coventry*, wherein his Majeſty acquainted the Houſe, that having according to their deſire in their Anſwer to his late Meſſage *April* 16th. driected their Adjournment to this time, becauſe they did alledge it to be unparliamentary to grant Supplyes when the Houſe was ſo thin, in expectation of a ſpeedy Adjournment; and having alſo Iſſued out his Proclamation of ſummons to the end there might be a full Houſe, he did now expect they would forthwith enter upon the conſideration of his laſt meſſage, and the rather, becauſe he did intend there ſhould be a Receſſe very quickly.

Upon this it was moved, That the Kings laſt Meſſage (of *April* 16.) And the Anſwer thereto ſhould be Read, and they were read accordingly.

Thereupon, after a long ſilence, a diſcourſe began about their expectation, and neceſſity of Alliances.

And particularly, it was intimated that an Alliance with *Holland* was moſt expedient, for that we ſhould deceive our ſelves if we thought we could be defended otherwiſe, we alone could not withſtand the *French*, his purſe and power was too great. Nor could the *Dutch* withſtand him. But both together might.

The general diſcourſe was, that they came with an expectation to have Allyances declared, and if they were not made ſo as to be imparted, they were not called or come to that purpoſe they deſired, and hoped to meet upon, and if ſome

ſome few dayes might ripen them, they would be content to Adjorn for the mean time.

The Secretary and others ſaid, theſe Allyances were things of great weight, and difficulty, and the time had been ſhort, but if they were finiſht, yet it was not convenient to publiſh them, till the King was in a readineſſe and poſture to proſecute and maintain them, till when his Majeſty could not ſo much as ſpeak out, inſiſting on his words, *That vvithout 600000 l. it vvould not be poſsible for him to ſpeak or Act thoſe things vvhich ſhould anſvver the ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, vvithout expoſing the Kingdom to much greater dangers.*

By others it was obſerved and ſaid, That they met now upon a publick notice by Proclamation, which Proclamation was in purſuance of their laſt Addreſſe, in which Addreſſe they deſire the King they may Adjourn for ſuch time, as with in which (they hoped) Allyances might be fixed, ſo as to be imparted, they mentioned not any particular day, If his Majeſty had not thought this time long enough for the purpoſe, he might have appointed the Adjournment for a longer time; or he might have given notice by Proclamation that upon this account they ſhould re-adjourn to a yet longer time.

But ſurely, the time has been ſufficient, eſpecially conſidering the readineſs of the Parties to be Allyed with; it is five weeks ſince our Receſſe. He that was a miniſter chiefly imployed in making the *Tripple League*, has ſince publiſhed in print that, that League was made in five dayes, and yet that might well be thought a matter more tedious and long then this; For when people are in profound peace (as the *Dutch* then were) it was not eaſy to embark them preſently into Leagues. They had time and might take it for greater deliberation, But here the people are in the diſtreſſe of War, and need our Allyance, and therefore it might be con-

tracted with eaſe and expidition, were we as forward as they.

Neither is five weeks the limit of the time, that has been for this purpoſe, for it is about ten weeks ſince we firſt Addreſſed for theſe Allyances.

And as to the Objection, That it was not fit to make them known before preparation were made, they ſaid, the force of that lay in this, that the *French* would be allarmed. But they anſwered that the asking and giving money for this purpoſe would be no leſſe an Allarm. For the *French* could not be ignorant of what Addreſſes and Anſwers have paſſed; and if mony be granted to make warlike preperations, for the end therein ſpecified, it is rather a greater diſcovery and denouncing of what we intended againſt the *French*.

Grotius (*de jure Belli & Pacis*) ſaies, If a Prince make extraordinary preparations, a neighbour Prince who may be affected by them may expoſtulate, and demand an account of the purpoſe for which they are intended, and if he receive not ſatisfaction, that they are not to be uſed againſt him, it is a cauſe of War on his part, ſo as that Neighbour may begin if he think fit, and is not bound to ſtay till the firſt preparer firſt begin actuall Hoſtility, and this is agreeable to reaſon, and the nature of Government.

Now the *French* King, is a vigilant Prince, and has wiſe Miniſters about him, upon which general account (tho we had not as we have ſeen an extraordinary *French* Embaſſy here dureing our Receſſe) we ſhould ſuppoſe that the *French* King has demanded an account of our *K*ings purpoſe, and whether the extraordinary preparations that are begun and to be made are deſigned againſt him or not. In which caſe his Majeſty could give but one of three anſwers.

1. To ſay, They are not deſigned againſt him, and then his Majeſty may acquaint us with the ſame, and then there is no occaſion of our giving money,

2. To

2. To ſay, They are deſigned againſt him, in which caſe his *Majeſty* may very well impart the ſame to us. For it were in vain to conceal it from us, to the end that the *French* might not be allarmd, when it is before expreſly told the *French*, that the deſign was againſt him.

3. To give a doubtfull anſwer. But that reſolves into the ſecond. For when a Prince out of an apprehenſion that extraordinary preparations may be uſed againſt him, deſires a clear categoricall and ſatisfactory anſwer concerning the matter (as the manner of Princes is) a dubious anſwer does not at all ſatisfie his inquiry, nor allay his jealouſy; But, in that caſe it is, and is uſed, to be taken and underſtood, that the forces are deſined againſt him.

And if his *Majeſty* have given no anſwer at all (which is not probable) it is the ſame with the laſt.

So that this being ſo, by one meanes or other the *French* have the knowledge of the Kings purpoſe, and if it be known to, or but gueſſed at by them, why is it concealed from his Parliament? Why this darkneſſe towards us?

Beſides we expect not ſo much good as we would, ſo long as we are afraid the *French* ſhould know what we are a doing.

In this ſtate of uncertainty, and unripeneſs the Houſe Adjourned to *Wedneſday* Morning nine a clo k, having firſt ordred the Committe for the Bill for recalling his Majeſties Subjects out of the ſervice of the *French* King, to ſit this after-noon, which did ſit accordingly, and went thorough the Bill,

Wedneſday, May 23d. 1677.

His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage for the Houſe to attend him preſently at the Banqueting Houſe in *White-Hall*, where he made the following Speech to them.

Gentlemen,

I Have ſent for you hither, that I might prevent thoſe miſtakes and diſtruſts vvhich I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together, only to get money from you, for other uſes than you vvould have it imployed. I do aſſure you on the Word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any truſt you repoſe in me, for the ſafety of my Kingdoms; and I deſire you to believe I vvould not break my Credit vvith you, but as I have already told you, that it vvill not be poſsible for me to ſpeak or act *thoſe things vvhich ſhould anſvver the ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, vvithout expoſing my kingdoms to much greater dangers, ſo I declare to you again, I vvill neither hazard my ovvn ſafety, nor yours, until I be in a better condition than I am able to put my ſelf, both to defend my Subjects and offend my Enemies.*

I do further aſſure you, I have not loſt one day ſince your laſt meeting, in doing all I could for your defence; and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your fault and not mine if your Security be not ſufficiently provided for.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, and the Speech being there read, they preſently reſolved to conſider it, and after a little while reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, for the more full, free, and regular debate

The Secretary and others propounded the ſupplying the King, wherein they ſaid they did not preſs the Houſe, but they might do as they pleaſed. But if it be expected that Allyances be made, and made known, there muſt be 600000*l.* raiſed

raiſed to make preperation before, for the king had declared that without it, it could not be poſſible for him *to ſpeak or Act*; he could not ſafely move a ſtep further. The king had the right of making Peace, War, and Leagues, as this Houſe has of giving money, he could not have money without them, nor they Allyance without him. The king had conſidered this matter, and this was his Judgment, That he ought by ſuch a ſumme to be put into a poſture to maintain and proſecute his Allyance, before they could or ſhould be declared, and truely otherwiſe our nakedneſſe and weakneſſe would be expoſed.

Tis true as has been Objected, the asking and giving money for this purpoſe, would allarm as much as the declaring Alliance, but then it would defend too. A Whip will allarm a wild Beaſt, but it will not defend the man, a Sword will allarm the Beaſt too, but then it will alſo defend the man.

We know the King would ſtrip himſelf to his ſhirt rather then hazard the Nation. He has done much already, he has ſet out, and made ready to ſet out, 44 Ships, but they muſt be diſtributed to ſeveral places for Convoys, *&c.* Their would need, it may be 40 more in a body. And it is difficult to get Seamen, many are gon into the ſervice of the *French, Dutch, &c,* The King is fain to preſſe now.

The King has not had any fruit of the 200000 l. credit provided him upon the three years Exciſe, he has tryed the City to borrow money of them, thereupon, and my Lord Mayor returned anſwer, that he had endeavoured but could not encourage his *Majeſty* to depend upon the City for it.

Several others, ſomewhat different, ſpake to this effect, We ſhould conſider in this caſe, as in the caſe of the Kings Letters, Pattents, Proclamations, *&c.* If any thing in them be againſt *Law* and Reaſon, Lawyers and Courts, Judge is void, and reckon it not to be ſaid or done by the *King*, *For the King can do no wrong*, tho his Counſel may. So we

muſt

muſt look upon the Kings Speeches and Meſſages as the product of Counſel, and therefore if any miſtake be therein, it muſt be imputed to the error of his Counſel, and it muſt be taken that the king never ſaid it. Now to apply certainly the treating and concluding of Alliances, requirs, not a previous ſumme of mony, however the kings Counſel may miſinform. They may be propounded and accepted, by the meanes of the Forraign Miniſters, even without an Embaſſy to be ſent hence, and yet if that were requiſite, it were not an extraordinary charg.

Allyances may be made forthwith, and then mony would be granted forthwith; If they were declared to day, the 600000 *l.* ſhould be given to morrow, and as occaſion ſhould require.

And there is no fear but money would be found for this purpoſe, our own Extravagancies would maintaine a War.

The mony which has been provided the King already this Seſſion, is ſufficient for all Preparations that can poſſibly be made before theſe Allyances may be made.

Forty Ships of ours with the help of the *Dutch*, are a good Defence againſt the *French* at Sea, now he is ſo entangled with *Sicily*, the *Weſt Indies*, *&c*, In the *Tripple League*, it was ſtipulated, that forty of our Ships, and forty of the *Dutch*, ſhould be provided, and they were thought ſufficient for the purpoſe.

If it were required that 40 more Ships ſhould be ſet out, 60 000 *l* is enough to maintain and pay a whole year clear for the Carpenters work, and ſuch like as ſhould preſently be required, for the fitting them to go out a little money will ſerve.

And ſurely this is the only preparation that can be meant, for if it ſhould be meant, that we ſhould fortifie the Land with Forts, Garriſons, walled Towns, *&c.* it is not 6 millions will do it. But our ſtrength, force and defence, is our

Ships,

Ships, for the debate of this day it is as great and weighty as ever was any in *England* it concerns our very being, and includes our Religion, Liberty and Property; *The doore towards France muſt be shut and Garded, for ſo long as it is open our Treaſure and Trade will creep out and their Religon creep in at it*, and this time is our ſeaſon, ſome miſchief will be done us, and ſo there will at any time when the War is begun, but now the leaſt.

The *French* is not very dangerous to us, nor to be much feared by us at this preſent, but we ought to adviſe and act ſo now, as we may not fear or deſpair hereafter when the *French* ſhall make peace beyond Sea, and likely he will make Allyances with thoſe People with whom we deferr to make them; How ripe and great is our Miſery then?

The power and policy of the *French* is extraordinary, and his money Influences round about him.

We are glad to obſerve upon what is ſaid by & of the King, that his Majeſty agrees with us in the end, and we hope he will be convinced of the reaſonableneſs of the means, which is to make and follow theſe Allyances, without which plainly we can give no account to our ſelves, or thoſe we repreſent, of giving money.

We have made ſeverall Addreſſes about ſome of the Kings *Miniſters*, their management, *&c.* Of which we have ſeen little fruit, Their have continually almoſt to this hour gone out of *England* ſuccours to *France*, of *Men*, Powder, Ammunition, Ordnance, *&c.* Not to rake into the matter, how far the *Miniſters* have been active or paſſive in this, nor to mention any other particulars, we muſt ſay that unleſs the Miniſters, or their minds are altred, we have no reaſon to truſt money in their hands, Though we declare we have no purpoſe to arrign or attempt upon them, but would rather propoſe to them an eaſy way how they might have Oblivion, nay, and the thanks of the People *viz.* That they ſhould endeavour

deavour and contend, who could do moſt to diſpoſe the king to Comply with this advice of his Parliament.

We think the proſecuting theſe Alliances, the only good uſe for which our money can be imployed, and therefore before we give, we would be ſecure it ſhould be applyed to this purpoſe, and not by miſcouncells be diverted to others.

This is the mature Counſel of the Parliament, and no Croſſe or other counſel is to be received or Truſted, for attaining theſe great advices which the King and Parliament are agreed on.

To part with money before Allyances are made, is needleſſe and to no purpoſe, at beſt it would be the way to ſpend that money before hand, in vaine, which we ſhall need hereafter, when we ſhal be forced to enter into this defence againſt *France*.

It would be like an errour committed in the late Kings time, and which lookes as if men had given Counſel on purpoſe to deſtroy that Good King, he had by the care and faithfullneſſe of Biſhop *Juxton* and others, Collected and preſerved a good ſumme of mony before the *Scottish* Rebellion, in *One thouſand Six hundred Thirty nine*, upon that Rebellion he was adviſed to raiſe an Army at Land, which indeed was neceſſary, But he was likewiſe adviſed to ſet out ſeverall of his great Rate Ships, this appeared in the papers of Sir *Robert Longs* Office, and may there be ſeen ſtill, if the Papers are not ſcattred. A man cannot tell to what end this adviſe was given, unleſſe to ſpend the Kings money, for the Admiralty of *Scotland* is not now, and much leſſe then was ſo conſiderable, as to require any ſuch force againſt it. And if the deſign were to hinder their Commerce and ſuccours by Sea, the charg of one of thoſe great Ships might have been divided and applied to the ſetting out five or ſix leſſe Ships, each of which was capable of doing as much for that ſervice, as ſuch a great one, and could keep out at Sea longer.

It

It is a plain case, unless the power of *France* be lowred we cannot be safe, without Conjunction with other Confederates, it cannot be done. The question is, whether the present be the proper time for the work. Certainly it is, there is a happy Confederation against the *French*, which we cannot so well hope to have continued without our coming into it, much less can we hope to recover or recruite it, if once broken. The very season of the year favours the businesse. It is proper and safe to begin with the *French* in the summer, now he is engaged and not at Leisure, whereas in Winter when the Armies are drawn out of the Field he will be able to apply himself to us.

As to the Citizens not advancing mony upon the late cerdit, we are informed they were never regularly or effectually asked, my Lord Major indeed was spoken to, and perhaps some of the Aldermen, but all they are not the City, he sent about curiously to some of the Citizens, to know if they would lend, of which they took little or no notice, it being not agreeable to their way and usage, for the custom in such cases has always been, that some Lord of the Council did go down to the Common Counsell, which is the *Re*presentative body of the City, and there propound the matter.

Besides in this particular case the Citizens generally asked the same question we do: are the Alliances made, and said if they were made they would lend money, but if not, they saw no cause for it.

Philip the second of *Spaine* made an observation in his Will, or some last *Me*morial, and 'tis since published in Print by Monsieur, he observes the vanity of any Princes aspiring at the universal Monarchy, for that it naturally made the rest of the world joyntly his enemies, but ambition blinds men, suffers them not to look back on such Experiences. But this observation shews what is natural for orhers to do in such a case, and that the way to repell and break such a design, is by their universall confederation.

Philip the Second was most capable of making this Observation, for in his hands perished the *Spanish* Design of the Universal Monarchy, and that chiefly by reason of the Conjunction of the *English* and *Dutch* against him.

In the process of this debate, Gentlemen did more particularly explain themselves, and propound to Address their design to the King, for a League offensive and defensive, with the *Dutch* against the *French* power.

Against which a specious *Objection* was made, That the *Dutch*, were already treating with the *French*, and 'twas like they would slip Collar, make a separate Peace for themselves and leave us engaged in a War with *France*.

To which was Answered, That there was no just fear of that, the *Dutch* were Interessed in repressing the Power of *France* as well as we, and they knew their Interest; It was reasonable for them to say, If *England*, which is as much concerned in this danger, will not assist us, we will make the best terms we can for our selves, there is yet a Seam of Land between the *French* and us, we may Trade by or under them, *&c.*

But if *England* will joyn with the *Dutch*, they cannot find one syllable of reason to desert the Commou Cause.

They have observed a propensity in the People of *England* to help them, but not in the Court of *England*. If they can find that the Court does heartily joyn, it will above all things oblige and confirm them.

In *One thousand six hundred sixty seven*, when the *Dutch* were in Peace and Plenty, when *Flanders* was a greater Bullwork to them, for the *French* had not pierced so far into it, and when the direction of their affaires was in a hand of inveterate enmity to the Crown of *England* (*John de Witt*) yet then their Interest did so far Govern him and them, as to enter into the *Tripple League*, against the growth and power of *France*, and keep it more, and most certainly therefore now they are exhausted and weakened by a War, and stand in need

need of our help, now the *French* have approached nearer the brink of their Country, and are encreaſed in Naval force to the danger of their Trade and Navigation, and now their affaires are chiefly directed by a kinſman of the Crown of *England*, the Prince of *Orange*, they cannot deflect or ſtart from a League they make with us againſt our Common Enemy.

It was moved, that there might be a League Offenſive and Defenſive with *Spain* and the *Dutch*, and other convenient Allyances with the reſt of the Confederates, but the particular concerning *Spain*, was retracted and laid aſide by the general Diſcourſe of the Members to this purpoſe, We do covet an Allyance with *Spain* above others, for that they are Owners of the *Netherlands*, for whoſe preſervation we have Addreſſed, that it is with *Spain* that we have the moſt, if not the ouly profitable Trade, and the *Spaniards* are good, gallant and ſure Friends. But they are remote, and we know not whether there are full powers here or at *Bruſſels* for this matter, and to wait for their coming from *Madrid* would make Church-work, whereas we need the ſwifteſt expedition.

Therefore they Voted their Addreſs to be particular and expreſly for ſuch a League with the *Dutch*, and as to the *Spaniards* together with the other Confederates in general.

This paſſed with very general conſent, there was an extraordinary full Houſe, and upon putting the queſtion, there were but two negative Voices to it.

There were more ordinary particulars appointed to be in the Addreſs, but no conteſt or debate about them.

The *Vote* was as followeth:

Reſolved

THat an Addreſſe be made to the King, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to enter into a League, offenſive and defenſive, with the Sates General of the United Provinces, and to make ſuch other Alliances with others of the Confederates,

as

as his Majesty shall think fit, against the growth and power of the French King, and for the preservation of the Spanish Nether Lands, and that a Committe *be appointed to draw up the Addresse, with reasons why this House cannot comply with his Majesties Speech, until such Alliances be entred into, and further shewing the necessity of the speedy making such Alliances, and when such Alliances are made, giving his Majesty Assurance of speedy and chearfull supplyes, from time to time, for supporting and maintaining such Alliances.*

To which (the Speaker re-assuming the Chair, and this being reported) the House agreed, and appointed the Committee.

And Adjourned over *Ascension* day till *Friday*,

In the interim, the Committee appointed, met and drew the Addres according to the above mentioned Order, a true Coppy of which is here annexed.

May it please your Most excellent Majesty.

"YOur Majesties most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the "Commons in Parliament assembled, have taken into "their serious consideration, your Majesties gracious Speech "and do beseech your Majesty, to believe it is a great afflicti-"on to them, to find themselves obleiged (at present) to "decline the granting your Majesty the supply your Majesty "is pleased to demand, conceiving it is not agreeable to the "usage of Parliament, to grant Supplyes for mainteance of "Wars, and Alliances, before they are signified in Parlia-"ment (which the too Wars against the States of the United "Provinces, since your Majesties happy Restoration, and "the League made in *January* 1668, for preservation of "the *Spanish Nether Lands*, sufficiently proved, without

troub-

"ling your Majeſty with Inſtances of greater antiquity) from "which uſage if we might depart, the preſident might be "of dangerous conſequence in future times, though your "Majeſties Goodneſſe gives us great ſecurity during your "Majeſties Raign, which we beſeech God long to con-"tinue

"This Conſideration prompted us in our laſt Addreſſe to "your Majeſty, before our laſt Receſſe, humbly to men-"tion to your Majeſty, our hopes, that before our meeting "again your Majeſties Alliances might be ſo fixed, as that "your Majeſty might begraciouſly pleaſed to impart them to "us in Parliament, that ſo our earneſt deſires of ſupplying "your Majeſty, for proſecuting thoſe great ends, we had "humbly laid before your Majeſty, might meet with no "impediment or obſtruction; being highly ſenſible of the "neceſſity of ſupporting, as well as making the Alliances, "humbly deſired in our former Addreſſes, and which we "ſtill conceive ſo important to the ſafety of your Majeſty, "and your Kingdomes, That we cannot (without unfaith-"fulneſſe to your Majeſty and thoſe we Repreſent) omit up-"on all occaſions, humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, as we now "do, *To enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with the States General of the United Provinces, againſt the growth and power of the French King, and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Net'er-Lands, and to make ſuch other Alliances, with ſuch other of the Confederates, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit and uſefull to that end*; in doing which (That no time "may be loſt) we humbly offer to his Majeſty theſe Rea-"ſons for the expediting of it.

1. "That if the entering into ſuch Alliances, ſhould draw "on a War with the *French* King, it would be leſt detri-"mental to your Majeſties Subjects at this time of the year, "they having now feweſt effects, within the Dominion of that King.

2. "That though we have great reaſon to believe the power

'power of the *French* King to be dangerous, to your Maje-
'sty and your kingdoms, when he shall be at more leisure to
'molest us; yet we conceive the many Enemies he has to
'deal with at present, together with the scituation of your
'Majesties Kingdoms, the *Unanimity of the People in the Cause*,
'the care your Majesty hath been pleased to take of your
'ordinary Guards of the Sea, together with the Credit pro-
'vided by the late Act for an additional Excise for three years
'make the entering into, and declaring Alliances very safe,
'until we may in a regular way give your Majesty such fur-
'ther Supplies, as may enable your Majesty to support your
'Allyances, and defend your kingdoms.

'And becaufe of the great danger and charge which must
'necessarily fall upon your Majesties kingdomes, if through
'want of that timely encouragement and assistance, which
'your *Majesties* joyning with the States General of the *Uni-*
'*ted Provinces*, and other the Confederates would give them,
'The said States or any other considerable part of the Con-
'federates, should this next Winter, or sooner, make a Peace
'or Truce with the *French* King (*the prevention whereof*
'*must hitherto be acknowledged a singular effect of Gods good-*
'*ness to us*) which if it should happen, your *Majesty* would
'be afterwards necessitated with fewer, perhaps with no Al-
'liances or Assistance to withstand the power of the *French*
'king, which hath so long and so succesfully contended with
'so many, and so potent Adversaries, and whileft he conti-
'nues his over-ballancing greatness, must alwayes be dange-
'rous to his Neighbours, since he would be able to oppress
'any one Confederate, before the rest could get together,
'and be in so good a posture of offending him as they now
'are, being joyntly engaged in a War. And if he should be
'so successful as to make a Peace, or dissolve the present
'Confederation against him, it is much to be feared, whether
't would be possible ever to reunite it, at least it would be
'a work of so much time and difficulty, as would leave

'your

" your Majeſties Kingdomes expoſed to much miſery and
" danger.

" Having thus diſcharged our duty, in laying before your
" Majeſty the Dangers threatning your Majeſty, and your
" Kingdomes, and the onely Remedyes we can think of,
" for the preventing, ſecuring, and queting the minds of
" your Majeſties People, with ſome few of thoſe Reaſons
" which have moved us to this, and our former Addreſſes.
" On theſe Subjects; We moſt humbly beſeech your Ma-
" jeſty to take the matter to your ſerious Conſideration, and
" to take ſuch Reſolutions, as may not leave it in the power
" of any neighbouring Prince, to rob your People of that
" happineſſe which they enjoy, under your Majeſties graci-
" ous Governement; beſeeching your Majeſty to re[illegible]-
" fident and aſſured, that when your Majeſty ſhall be p[illegible]d
" to declare ſuch Alliances in Parliament, We ſhall hold our
" ſelves obliged, not only by our promiſes, and aſſurances
" given, and now which great Unaninity revived in a full
" Houſe, but by the Zeal and deſires of thoſe whom we re-
" preſent, and by the Intereſts of all our ſafetyes, moſt
" chearfully to give your Majeſty from time to time ſuch
" ſpeedy Supplyes, and Aſſiſtances, as may fully and plenti-
" fully anſwer the Occaſions, and by Gods bleſſing preſerve
" your Majeſty Honour, and the ſafty of the People.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſties great Wiſdome.

Friday May 25th. 1677.

Sir *John Trevor* reported from the ſaid Committee the Addreſſe, as 'twas drawn by them, which was read.

Whereupon it was moved to agree with the Committee, but before it was agreed to, there was a debate and diviſion of the Houſe.

It was obſerved and objected that there was but one reaſon given herein for declining the granting money and that is the Unpreſidentedneſſe, and as to one of the Inſtances to this purpoſe mentioned, *Viz.* the Kings firſt *Dutch* War, it was ſaid to be miſtaken for that the 2500000 *l.* was voted before the War declared.

But it was anſwred, that if the Declaration was not before the grant of the money (which *Quære*) yet 'twas certain that the War it ſelf, and great Hoſtilites were before the money, and ſome ſaid there might be other reaſons Aſſigned againſt giving money before the Alliances, but they rather deſired to ſpare them, onely in general ſaid, twas not reſonable to grant money before there was a Change (they would not ſay of Counſellors but of Counſells) and an hartie undertaking theſe Alliances would be the beſt demonſtration of that Change. For the ſwerving from this Intereſt and part, was the ſtep by which we went awry, and the returning thereto would reſtore us to our right place and way.

And a Gentleman produced and read the Kings Speech made *Monday* the 10*th.* of *February* 1667. wherein he ſpeak chiefly of the League which afterwards when the *Swede* came into it, was called the *Tripple League.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am glad to ſee you hear again to tell you what I have "done in this Intervall, which I am confident you will "be pleaſed with, ſince it is ſo much to the Honour and "ſecurity of the Nation. I have made a League Offenſive "and Defenſive with the *States of the United Provinces*, and "likewiſe a League for an efficacious mediation of Peace "between the two Crowns, into which League that of *Swe-*"*den* by its Ambaſſador hath offered to enter as a principal. "I did not at our laſt Meeting move you for any Aid,

"though

"though I lye under great Debts contracted by the laſt War "but now the poſture of our Neighbours abroad, and the "conſequence of this new Alliance will oblige me for our ſe- "curity to ſet out a conſiderable fleet to Sea this Summer, "and beſides I muſt build more great Ships, and tis as ne- "ceſſary that I do ſomething in order to the fortifying ſome "of our Ports. I have begun my ſelf in order to theſe "ends, but if I have not your ſpeedy aſſiſtance, I ſhall not be "able to go thorow with it, wherefore I do earneſtly deſire "you to take it into your ſpeedy conſideration, *&c.*

Which ſhews the proper courſe and practice, That Kings firſt communicate their Alliances made, before they demand Supplies upon the account of them.

So the Exception was let fall.

But the grand *Objection* mannaged againſt it, was upon the main point of the Addreſs, wherein they deſired his Majeſty to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the *Dutch*, and ſuch other *Alliances* with the reſt as he ſhould think fit.

Thoſe who were againſt this particular (or particularizeing) in the Addreſs, ſpoke to this effect.

This is an Invaſion upon his Majeſties Prerogative of making Peace, War and Leagues, and it is the worſe for the Diſtinction that is uſed; in reſpect of the *Dutch* and the reſt; by which you giving him expreſs directions as to the *Dutch*, and referring to his diſcretion as to the others, it looks and gives an *Umbrage* as if what he was to do was by your leave.

The Antient Land-mark, the Boundaries between King and People muſt not be removed; This power is one of the few things reſerved entirely to the Crown. Parliaments are ſummoned to treat *de Arduis*, but He, *de quibuſdam Arduis*, this is unpreſidented.

The Marriages of the Royal Family is such a peculiar thing reserved to the King, and the matter of the Lady *Arrabella* is an Instance. Queen *Elizabeth* resented it high, that the Parliament should propound her marrying, and she said that however it is well they did not name the person, if they had named the person, it had been intolerable, now here you name the person whom you would have the King Ally.

If you may go so far, you may come to draw a Treaty, and propose to the King to sign it, By this you would put a great *Indecorum* upon the King, he is now concerned as a Mediater at *Nimmegen*, and it would be an indecent thing for him at the same time to declare himself a party. It is believed the House of *Austria* (though they sent full powers to *Nimmegen*, for the purpose, yet) never intended to conclude a Peace. But it was an absurd thing for them to declare so in Publick; There must be publick decorum.

This is the way for the King to have the worse bargain with the Confederates, for they observing how he is importuned, and as it were driven to make these *Alliances*, will slacken and lessen those advantagious offers, which other wise they would be forced to make.

And again and again, they said his Majesty did agree with this House in the End, and they did not doubt but he would prosecute it by the same means as was desired. But his Prerogative was not to be incroacht upon. This manner of proceeding would never obtain with the King, nay, it would make the Addres miscarry with the King.

On the other Side, several spoke to this effect.

We ought to consider, we are upon the Question of agreeing an Addres drawn by our Committee, by our Order.

If they have not in matter and manner corresponded with our direction or intention, we have cause to disagree. But here the Exception taken, and cause pressed why we should not agree with them is, because they have observed the very word,

words and ſubſtance of our Order, which exactly juſtifieth this Draught.

This paſſed on *Wedneſday*, upon a full Debate, in a very full Houſe, two only contradicting, but not one ſpeaking or thinking the *Kings Prerogative* was toucht: and therefore its ſtrange it ſhould be made the great *Objection* and *Queſtion of this day*.

But the *Prerogative* is not at all intrench'd upon, we do not, nor do pretend to Treat or make Alliances, we only offer our advice about them, and leave it with the *King*, he may do as he pleaſeth, either make or not make them. It is no more than other perſons may do to the *King*, or doubtleſs the Privy Council may Adviſe him in this particular, and why not his Great Council? This rate of diſcourſe would make the *Kings Prerogative* conſiſt meerly in not being adviſed by his Parliament (of all People.)

There are manifold Preſidents of ſuch Advices: Leagues have been made by Advice of Parliament, and have been ratified in Parliament: In *Edvv.* 3. *Rich.* 2. and eſpecially in *Henry* the *Fifths* time, and particularly with *Sigiſmond* the *Emperour* and king of the *Romans*, and *Henry* the *fifth* was a Magnanimous Prince and not to be Impoſed upon.

18. *Jac.* The Parliament Adviſed the *King* about making and mannaging a War, *Rushvv. Coll.* 36, 41, 42, 45, 46. And we may well remember our own adviſing the firſt *Dutch* War; and making Leagues is leſs than War.

But if there was no Preſident in this particular Caſe, it was no *Objection*; for matter of Advice is not to be circumſcribed by Preſident. If there be a new caſe that a Prince ſhould joyn in a War, together with another Prince, when that Prince was too potent before, and that when this was diſcerned, and a Peace made, yet Succors ſhould continually go out of the firſt Princes Dominions to the ſervice of the other Prince (and that notwithſtanding ſeveral Addreſſes and advices to the contrary.

'Tis

Tis true (as *Objected*) that the Commons have sometimes declined advising in the matter of War, *&c.* proposed to them. But that shews not their want of right to meddle therewith, but rather the contrary. The very truth is, it has been the desire and endeavour of kings in all Ages, to engage their Parliaments in advising War, *&c.* That so they might be obliged to supply the King to the utmost for and through it, but they out of a prudent caution have some times waved the matter, lest they should engage further or deeper than they were aware or willing.

Since his Majesty is treating as Mediator at *Nimmegen*, about the general Peace, it is a great reason why he should specifie the *Alliances* desired as we have done, that we might make it known, we are far from desiring such *Alliances* as might be made by and with a general Peace; but on the contrary coveting such as might prevent and secure us against that dangerous and formidable Peace.

Doubtless the Confederates will offer honourable and worthy Terms; Their necessity is too great to boggle or take advantages, nor will they think this League the less worth because we advise it, but rather value it the more, because it is done unanimously by the King with the Advise and applause of his People in Parliament.

We cannot suppose that our proceeding thus to his Majesty will pejudice our Addres or endanger its miscarriage since it is for his Majesties advantage, in that it obliges us to supply him to all degrees through this Affaire, and the more particular it is, the more still for the Kings advantage, for if it had been more general, and the King thereupon had made Alliances, whatever they were, men might have thought and said they were not the *Alliances* intended, and it might be used as an excuse or reason for their not giving money to supply his Majesty hereafter,

Rush Coll. 171. 172, 177, 178.

after, but this as it is now, doth moſt expreſly, ſtrictly and particularly bind us up.

We reflect that a great deal of time (and precious time) has been ſpent ſince and in our Addreſſe on this Subject, and finding no effectual fruit, eſpecially of our laſt Addreſſe, we have cauſe to apprehend we are not clearly underſtood in what we mean. Now it is the ordinary way of purſuing diſcourſe in ſuch Caſe, and it is Proper and naturall for us to ſpeak (out) more explicitely and particularly, and tell his Majeſty, That what we have meant is a League offenſive and defenſive, And to perſwad us again to Addreſſe on, in more general Terms, as before, is to perſwade us, that as we have done nothing this ten weeks, ſo we ſhould do nothing ſtill.

And ſaid his Majeſty in his late *Meſſage* and laſt Speech, has been pleaſed to demand 600000 *l.* for anſwering the purpoſe of our Addreſſes, and aſſures us that the money ſhall not be imployed to other uſes than we would have it imployed, it is moſt ſeaſonable for us to declare plainly the uſe and purpoſe we intend, that ſo it may be concerted and clearly underſtood of all hands, and therefore it is well done to mention to his Majeſty theſe expreſs Alliances, we thinking no other Alliances, worth the ſaid Sum, and we withal promiſing and undertaking that his *Majeſty* ſhall have this and and more for theſe ends.

Nor have we any cauſe to apprehend that his Majeſty will take amiſſe our adviſing Leagues in this manner. We have preſented more than one Addreſſe for Alliances againſt the growth and power of the *French* King, and his Majeſty has received, admitted and anſwered them without any exception, and if we may Addreſſe for Alliances againſt a particular Prince or ſtate, Why not for Alliances with a particular Prince or ſtate? It cannot be leſſe regular or Parliamentary then the former.

And moreover (though we know that punctuall preſi-

dents

dents are on our ſide, beſides our Commiſſions by our Writts, to treat *de arduis, & urgentibus Regem, Statum, & Defenſionem Regni, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, concernentibus.* And beſides the Kings General intimations in his Printed Speech, yet) if it be ſaid to be a decent and proper thing to have his Majeſtys leave and conſent, before we proceed on ſuch a matter, in ſuch a manner, as we now do, we ſay, that that in effect is with us too; for conſider all our former Addreſſes, and his Majeſtjes Anſwers, and Meſſages thereupon, and it will appear that his Majeſty has engaged and encouraged us to upon this Subject; and that which he expects and would have, is not to limit or check our adviſe, but to open and enlarge our gift. His *Majeſty* appears content to be throughly adviſed, provided he be proportionably furniſhed and enabled with money, which we being now ready to do, we clearly and concluſively preſent him our advice, for the application of it. *To prevent thoſe miſtakes and diſtruſts which his Majeſty ſayes he findes ſome are ſo ready to make, as if he had called us together only to get money from us, for other uſes then we would have it imployed.*

And truly the adviſing theſe Allyances, together with aſſuring his *Majeſty* thereupon to aſſiſt and ſupply him preſently, and plentifully to proſecute the ſame, is our only way of complying and correſponding with his laſt ſpeech: For thoſe Leagues followed and ſupported by theſe Supplyes are the only means and methodes to put his Majeſtie in the *beſt condition, both to defend his Subjects, and offend his Enemies*: and ſo there will be *no fault in his Majeſty nor Us, but His and Our ſecurity will ſufficiently provide for.*

Beſides it will be worſe, it will be a very bad thing indeed not to make the Addreſſe for this particular League, now, ſince we have reſolved it already. Our intention being to have the *Dutch, &c.* comforted, encouraged and aſſured, we did order this on *Wedneſday*, and there is publick notice taken of it abroad, and beyond Sea. If we ſhould now upon

upon ſolemn debate ſet the ſame aſide, it would beget a great doubt, diſcomfort, and diſcouragment to them; It is one thing never to have ordered it; another, to retract it.

Alſo it was ſaid, that this was neceſſary, but was not all that was neceſſary, for ſuppoſe (which was not credible) that *France* ſhould be prevailed with to deliver up all *Lorraine*, *Flanders*, *Alſatia*, and other Conquered places; Are we ſafe? No, He has too many hands, too much Money, and this money is in great meaſure (a Million Sterling yearly at leaſt) ſupplyed him from hence. We muſt depreſs him by force as far as may be, but further we muſt have Leagues and Laws to impoveriſh him; *We muſt deſtroy the French Trade.* This would quiet and ſecure us; this would make our Lands riſe, and this would enable us to ſet the king at eaſe.

After this long debate the Houſe came to the Queſtion, Whether this particular of a *League Offenſive and Defenſive with the Dutch* ſhould be left out of the Addreſs, upon which Queſtion, the Houſe divided,

Yeas 142, *Noes* 182.

So that it was carried by *Forty* that it ſhould ſtand.

Then the main Queſtion was put for agreeing, with their Committee, this Addreſs: which paſſed in the Affirmative without Diviſion of the Houſe.

Then it was Ordered, That thoſe Members of the Houſe who were of his Majeſtys Privy Counſel, ſhould move his Majeſty to know his pleaſure, when the Houſe might wait upon him with their Addreſs.

Mr. *Powle* reported from the Committee, Amendments to the Bill for Recalling his *Majeſtys* Subjects out of the *French Kings* Service, which were Read and Agreed to by the Houſe and the Bill with the Amendments Ordered to be Ingroſſed.

And then the Houſe Adjourned to the morrow.

Saturday, May 26 1677, in the morn.

The House being sate had notice by Secretary *Coventry* That the King would receive their Address at three in the afternoon.

The Bill for Recalling his Majesties Subjects, *&c.* being then Ingrossed, was Read the Third time and Passed; The effect of the Bill in short was this.

That all and every of the Natural born Subjects of his Majesty who should continue or be, after the first of *August* next, in the Military Service of the *French* King, should be disabled to inherit any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, and be uncapable of any Gift, Grant or Legacy, or to be Executor or Administrator, and being convicted, should be adjudged guilty of *Felony*, without benefit of the Clergy, and not pardonable by his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, except only by Act of Parliament, wherein such Offenders should be particularly named.

The like appointment for such as should continue in the Sea-service, of the *French* King, after the first of *May*, 1678.

This Act as to the prohibiting the offence, and incurring the penalties, to continue but for two years, but the executeing and proceeding upon it for Offences against the Act, might be at any time, as well after as within the two years.

Then it was Ordered, that *Mr. Powle* should carry up this Bill to the Lords, and withall should put the Lords in mind, of a Bill for *The better suppressing the growth of Popery*, which they had sent up to their Lordships before *Easter*, which was forthwith done accordingly.

As soon as this was ordered, several other Bills were moved for to be Read, *&c.* But the Members generally said, *No. They would proceed on nothing but the French and Popery.* So they Adjourned to the afternoon, when they attended the King with their Address, at the Banqueting House in *White-Hall*. Which being presented, The King Answered,

That

That it was long and of great importance, that he would consider of it, and give them an Answer as soon as he could.

The House did nothing else but Adjourn till *Monday* morn.

Monday, May 28, 1677.

The House being sate, they received notice by Secretary *Coventry*, that the King expected them immediately at the *Banqueting-House*.

Whether being come, The King made a Speech to them on the Subject of their Address: Which Speech to prevent mistakes, his Majesty read out of his Paper, and then delivered the same to the Speaker. And his Majesty added a few words about their *Adjournment*.

The Kings Speech is as followeth;

Gentlemen,

Could I have been Silent, I would rather have chosen to be so, then to call to mind things so unfit for you to meddle with, as are contained in some parts of your last Addresses, wherein you have entrenched upon so undoubted a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Prerogative of making Peace and War hath been so dangerously invaded.

You do not content your selves with desiring Me to enter into such Leagues, as may be for the safety of the Kingdome, but you tell Me what sort of Leagues they must be, and with whom, (and as your Addresse is worded) it is more liable to be understood to be by your Leave, then at your Request, that I should make such other Alliances, as I please with other of the Confederates.

Should I suffer this fundamental Power of making Peace and War to be so far invaded (though but once) as to have the man-

ner and circumſtances of Leagues preſcribed to Me by Parliament *it's plain that no Prince or State would any longer believe that the Soveraignty of* England *reſts in the Crown. Nor could I think My Self to ſignifie any more to Foreign Princes, then the empty Sound of a King. Wherefore you may reſt aſſured, that no Condition ſhall make Me depart from, or leſſen ſo eſſential a part of the Monarchy. And I am willing to believe ſo well of this Houſe of Commons, that I am confident theſe ill Conſequences are not intended by you.*

Theſe are in ſhort the Reaſons, why I can by no means approve of your Addreſs; and yet though you have declined to grant Me that Supply which is neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, That as I have done all that lay in my power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I will ſtill apply my ſelf by all the means I can, to let the World ſee my Care both for the Security and Satisfaction of my People, although it may not be with thoſe Advantages to them, which by your Aſſiſtances I might have procured.

And having ſaid this, he ſignified to them that they ſhould Adjourn till the 16th. of *July*.

Upon hearing of this Speech read, their Houſe is ſaid to have been greatly appalled, both in that they were ſo ſeverely Checked in his *Majeſties* name, from whom they had been uſed to receive ſo conſtant Teſtimones of his Royal Bounty and Affection, which they thought they had deſerved, as alſo, becauſe there are ſo many Old and freſh Preſidents, of the ſame Nature; and if there had not, yet they were led into this by all the ſtepps of Neceſſity, in duty to his Majeſty and the Nation. And ſeveral of them offering therefore modeſtly to have ſpoken, they were interrupted continually by the Speaker, conteſting that after the Kings pleaſure ſignified for Adjournment, there was no further Liberty of ſpeaking. And yet it is certain, that at the ſame time in the Lords Houſe, the Adjournment was in the uſuall forme, and upon the Queſtion firſt propounded to that

House, and allowed by them. All Adjournments (unless made by speciall Commission under his Majesties Broad Seal) being and having alwaies been so, an Act of the Houses by their own Authority. Nevertheless, several of their Members requiring to be heard, the Speaker had the confidence, without any Question put, and of his own motion, to pronounce the House Adjourned till the 26th of *July*, and stept down in the middle of the floor, all the House being astonished at so unheard of a violation of their inherent Priviledge and Constitution. And that which more amazed them afterwards was, that while none of their own transactions or Addresses for the Publick Good are suffered to be Printed, but even all Written Coppies of them with the same care as Libells suppressed; Yet they found this severe speech published in the next days News Book, to mark them out to their own, and all other Nations, as refractory disobedient Persons, that had lost all respect to his Majesty. Thus were they well rewarded for their *14th of Perpetuall Sitting*, and of *Acting*; *the Parliament* being grown to that height of Contempt, as to be *Gazetted* among Run-away Servants, Lost Doggs, Strayed Horses, and High-way Robbers.

In this manner was the second meeting of this, whether *Convention* or *Parliament*, concluded; But by what Name soever it is lawfull to call them, or how irregular they were in other things, yet it must be confessed, That this House or Barn of Commons, deserved commendations for having so far prevented the establishment of Popery, by framing the Conspiratours two Bills Intituled

1. *An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion by educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; And for the providing for the Continuance of a Protestant Clergy.*

2. *An Act for the more effectual conviction and Prosecution of Popish Recusants.* And for having in so many addresses, applyed against the *French* power and progresse. And their Debates before recited upon this latter subject do

Judges were more true to their Patents then their Jurisdiction, and remanded him. Sir *Thomas Jones* having done this double Justice, answering both for himself and his Brother *Twisden*, that was absent and had never hard any Argument in the case.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, had better Fortune then he in recurring to his Majesty by a Petition, upon which they were enlarged, making use of an honorable Evasion, where no Legal Reparation could be hoped for. Ingratefull Persons may censure them for enduring no more, not considering how much they had suffered. But it is Honour enough for them to have been Confessors, nor as yet is the Earl of *Shaftsbury* a Martyr for the *English* Liberties and the Protestant Religion, but may still live to the Envy of those that malign him for his Constancy.

There remaines now only to relate that before the meeting appointed for the third of *December*, his Majesties Proclamation was Issued, signifying that he expected not the Members attendance, but that those of them about Town may *Adjourn themselves* till the fourth of *April*, 1678. Wherein it seemed not so strange, because often done before, as unfortunate that the *French* should still have so much further leisure allowed him to compleat his designs upon *Flanders*, before the Nation should have the last opportunity of interposing their Counsells with his Majesty; it cannot now be said, to prevent it. But these words that the House may *Adjourn themselves* were very well received by those of the Commons who imagined themselves thereby restored to their Right, after Master *Seymours* Invasion: When in reversal of this, he probably desiring to retain a Jurisdiction, that he had twice usurped, and to adde this Flower to the Crown, of his own planting, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* delivered an Oaten Message from his Majesty on the 2d of *December*, of a contrary effect, though not of the same validity

by

dity with the Proclamation, to wit, That the Houſes *ſhould be Adjourned* only to the 15. of *January* 1677. Which as ſoon as read, Mr. *Seymour* would not give leave to a worthy *Member* offerring to ſpeak, but abruptly, now the third time of his own authority, Adjourned them, without putting the Queſtion, although Sr. *J. Finch*, for once doing ſo in *Tertio Caroli*, was accuſed of high Treaſon; This only can be ſaid, perhaps in his excuſe, That whereas that in *tertio Car.* was a Parliament Legally conſtituted, *Mr. Seymour* did here do as a Sheriff that diſperſes a Riotous aſſembly. In this manner they were kickt from Adjourment to Adjournment, as from one ſtair down to another, and when they were at the bottom kickt up again, having no mind yet to *Go out of Doors.*

And here it is time to fix a period, if not to them, yet to this Narrative. But if neither one Prorogation, againſt all the Laws in being, nor three Vitious Adjournments, againſt all Preſidents, can Diſſolve them, this Parliament then is Immortal, they can ſubſiſt without his Majeſties Authority, and it is leſs dangerons to ſay with Captain *Elſdon*, ſo lately, *Si Rebellio evenerit in Regno, & non accideret fore, contra omnes tres Status, Non eſt Rebellio.*

Thus far hath the Conſpiracy againſt our Religion and Government been laid open, which if true, it was more than time that it ſhould be diſcovered, but if any thing therein have been falſly ſuggeſted the diſproving of it in any particular will be a courteſy both to the Publick and to the Relator; who would be glad to have the world convinced of the contrary, tho to the prejudice of his own reputation. But ſo far is it from this, that it is rather impoſſible for any obſerving man to read without making his own farther remarkes of the ſame nature, and adding a ſupplement of moſt paſſages which are here but imperfectly toucht. Yet ſome perhaps may *Object*, as if the Aſſiſtance given to *France* were all along *invidiouſly aggrevated*, whereas there have been and are, conſiderable numbers likewiſe of his Majeſties Subjects in the Service of *Holland*, which hath not been mentioned. But in

sufficiently know, that there are men of great parts among them, who understand the Interest of the Nation, and as long as it is for their purpose, can prosecute it.

For who would not commend Chastity, and rail against Whoreing, while his Rival injoyes their Mistresse?

But on the other side, that poor desire of Perpetuating themselves to hold advantages which they have swallowed, or do yet gape for, renders them so Abject, that they are become a meer property to the Conspiratours, and must, in order to their countenance, do and suffer such things, so much below and contrary to the Spirit of the Nation, that any honest man would swear that they were no more an *English* House of Parliament. And by this weakness of theirs it was, that the House of Peers also (as it is in contiguous Buildings) yeelded and gave way so far even to the making of the Government. For had the Commons stood firme, it had been impossible that ever two men, such as the Black and White Lords, *Pearl* and *Prettyman*, though of so vast fortunes, extraordinary understanding, and so proportionable Courage, should but for speaking against their sense have committed the Poor Lords (not much their interest) and thereby brought the whole Peerage of *England* under their vassalage.

They met again at the Day appointed, the 16 of *July*. The supposed House of Commons were so well appayed, and found themselves at such ease, under the Protection of their frequent Adjournments, which seemed also further to confirme their Title to Parliament, that they quite forgot how they had been outlawed in the *Gazette*, or if any sense of it remained, there was no opportunity to discover it. For his Majesty having signified by Mr. Secretary *Coventry* his pleasure, that there should be a further *Adjournment*, then Mr. *Seymour* (the Speaker deceased) would not suffer any man to proceed; But an honourable Member requiring modestly to have the Order Read, by which they were be-

fore

ſent Adjourned, he Interrupted him and the Seconder of that motion. For he had at the laſt Meeting gained one Preſident of his own making for Adjourning the Houſe without queſtion, by his own Authority, and was loath to have it diſcontinued, ſo that without more ado, like an infallible Judge, and who had the power over Counſels, he declared, *Ex Cathedra*, that they were Adjourned till the third of *December* next. And in the ſame moment ſtampt down on the floor, and went forth (trampling upon, and treading under foot, I had almoſt ſaid, the Privileges and uſage of Parliament, but however) without ſhewing that decent reſpect which is due to a multitude in Order, and to whom he was a *Menial ſervant*.

In the mean time the four Lords lay all this while in the Tower, looking perhaps to have been ſet free, at leaſt of Courſe by Prorogation. And there was the more reaſon to have expected one, becauſe the Corn Clauſe which deducted *Communibus Annis*, 1000 l. out of the Kings Cuſtomes, was by the Act of Parliament to have expired.

But theſe frequent Adjournments left no place for Divination, but that they muſt rather have been calculated to give the *French* more ſcope for perfecting their Conqueſts, or to keep the Lords cloſer, till the Conſpirators Deſigues were accompliſhed, and it is leſs probable that one of theſe was falſe, than that both were the true Cauſes. So that the Lords, if they had been taken in War, might have been ranſomed cheaper than they were Impriſoned. When therefore after ſo long patience, they ſaw no end of their Captivity, they began to think that the procuring of their Liberty deſerved almoſt the ſame care which others took to continue them in Durance, and each of them choſe the Method he thought moſt advilable.

The Earl of *Shaftſbury* having addreſſed in vain for his Majeſties favour, (reſorted by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings Bench*, the conſtant Reſidence of his Juſtice. But the

Judges were more true to their Patents then their Jurisdiction and remanded him, Sir *Thomas Jones* having done his double Justice, answering both for himself and his Brother *Twisden*, that was absent and had never hard any Argument in the case.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, had better Fortune then he in recurring to his Majesty by a Petition, upon which they were enlarged, making use of an honorable Evasion, where no Legal Reparation could be hoped for. Ingratefull Persons may censure them for enduring no more, not considering how much they had suffered. But it is Honour enough for them to have been Confessors, nor as yet is the Earl of *Shaftsbury* a Martyr, for the *English* Liberties and the Protestant Religion, but may still live to the Envy of those that maligne him for his Constancy.

There remaines now only to relate that before the meeting appointed for the third of *December*, his Majesties Proclamation was Issued, signifying that he expected not the Members attendance, but that those of them about Town may *Adjourn themselves* till the fourth of *April* 1678. Wherein it seemed not so strange, because often done before; as unfortunate that the *French* should still have so much further leisure allowed him to compleat his design upon *Flanders*, before the Nation should have the last opportunity of interposing their Counsells with his Majesty (it cannot now be said) to prevent it. But these words that the House may *Adjourn themselves*, were very well received by those of the Commons who imagined themselves thereby restored to their Right, after Master *Seymours* Invasion; When in reversal of this, he probably desiring to retain a Jurisdiction, that he had twice usurped, and to adde this Flower to the Crown, of his own planting, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* delivered a written Message from his Majesty on the 3d of *December*, of a contrary effect, though not of the same validity

dity with the Proclamation, to wit, That the Houſes *ſhould be Adjourned* only to the 15. of *January* 1677. Which as ſoon as read, Mr. *Seymour* would not give leave to a worthy *Member* offerring to ſpeak, but abruptly, now the third time of his own authority, Adjourned them, without putting the Queſtion, although Sr. *J. Finch*, for once doing ſo in *Tertio Caroli*, was accuſed of high Treaſon; This only can be ſaid, perhaps in his excuſe, That whereas that in *tertio Car.* was a Parliament Legally conſtituted, *Mr. Seymour* did here do as a Sheriff that diſperſes a Riotous aſſembly. In this manner they were kickt from Adjourment to Adjournment, as from one ſtair down to another, and when they were at the bottom kickt up again, having no mind yet to *Go out of Doors.*

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Answer to that, it is well known through what difficulty and hardship they passed thither, escaping hence over, like so many Malefactors; and since they are there, such care hath been taken to make them as serviceable as others to the Design, that of those three *Regiments*, two, if not the third also, have been new modelled under Popish Officers, and the Protestants displaced. Yet had the *Relator* made that voluntary Omission in partiality to his Argument, he hath abundantly recompenced in sparing so many Instances on the other side which made to his purpose; The abandoning his Majesties own *Nephews* for so many years in compliance with His and our Nations Enemies, the further particulars of the *French* Depradations and Cruelties exercised at Sea upon his Majesties *Subjects*, and to this day continued and tollerated without reparation; Their notorious Treacheries and Insolencies, more especially relating to his Majesties Affairs. These things abroad, which were capable of being illustrated by many former and fresh Examples. At home, the constant irregularities and injustice from Term to Term, of those that administer the Judicature betwixt his *Majesty* and his *People*. The *Scrutiny* all over the Kingdom, to find out men of *Arbitrary Principles*, that will *Bow the knee to Baal*, in order to their Promotion to all Publick Commissions and Imployments; and the Disgracing on the contrary and Displacing of such as yet dare in so universal a depravation be honest and faithful in their Trust and Offices. The defection of considerable persons both *Male* and *Female* to the *Popish Religion*, as if they entred by Couples clean and unclean into the *Ark* of that Church, not more in order to their salvation, than for their temporal safety. The state of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which would require a whole Volume to represent in. The tendency of all Affairs and Counsels in this Nation towards a *Revolution*. And (by the great Civility and Foresight of his Holyness) an *English* Cardinal now for several years prepared like Cardinal *Pole* to give us *Absolution, Benediction*, and receive us into *Apostolical Obedience*.

It is now come to the fourth Act, and the next Scene that opens may be *Rome* or *Paris*, yet men sit by, like idle Spectators, and still give money towards their own *Tragedy*. It is true, that by his Majesty and the Churches care, under Gods Speciall providence, the Conspiracy hath received frequent disappointments. But it is here as in Gaming, where, tho the Cheat may lose for a while, to the Skill or good fortune of a fairer Player, and sometimes on purpose to draw him in deeper, yet the false Dice must at the long run Carry it, unless discovered, and when it comes once to a great Stake, will Infallibly Sweep the Table.

If the Relator had extended all these Articles in their particular Instances, with severall other Heads, which out of Respect he forbore to enumerate, it is evident there was matter sufficient to have further accused his Subjects. And nevertheless, he foresees that he shall on both hands be blamed for pursuing this method. Some on the one side will expect, that the very Persons should have been named, whereas he onely gives evidence to the Fact, and leaves the malefactors to those who have the power of inquiry. It was his design indeed to give Information, but not to turn Informer. That these to whom he hath onely a puplick enmity, no private animosity, might have the priviledge of Statesmen, to repent at the last hour, and by one signall Action to expiate all their former misdemeanours. But if any one delight in the Chase, he is an ill Woodman that knows not the size of the Beast by the proportion of his Excrement.

On the other hand, some will represent this discourse (as they do all Books that tend to detect their Conspiracy) against his Majesty and the Kingdome, as if it too were written against the Government. For now of late, as soon as any man is gotten into publick imployment by ill Acts and by worse continues it, he, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred. These are, themselves, the men who are the Living Libells against the Government, and who (whereas the

Law

Law discharges the Prince upon his Ministers) do if in danger of being Questioned, plead or rather Impeach his Authority in their own Justification. Yea, so impudent is their ingratitude, that as they intitle him to their Crimes, so they arrogate to themselves his Virtues, chalenging whatsoever is well done, and is the pure emanation of his *Royal Goodness*, to have proceeded from their Influence, Objecting thereby his *Majesty*, if it were possible, to the hatred and interposing as far as in them lies, betwixt the love of his People. For being conscious to themselves how inconsiderable they would be under any good Government, but for their notorious wickedness, they have no other way of subsisting, but by nourishing suspitions betwixt a most loyal People, and most gracious Soveraign. But this Book, though of an extraordinary nature, as the case required, and however it may be calumniated by interessed persons, was written with no other intent than of meer Fidelity and Service to his *Majesty*, and God forbid that it should have any other effect, than *That the mouth of all Iniquity and of Flatterers may be stopped*, and that his *Majesty* having discerned the Disease, may with his Healing Touch apply the Remedy. For so far is the Relator himself from any Sinister surmise of his Majesty, or from suggesting it to others, that he acknowledges, if it were fit for *Cæsars* Wife to be free, much more is *Cæsar* himself from all Crime and Suspition. Let us therefore conclude with our own Common Devotions, *From all Privy Conspiracy*, &c.

Good Lord deliver us.

Errata. Pag. 6 line 5 read, *at the same time*. p. 8 l. 6 r. *clavo non errante*. p. 8 l. 25 dele *still*. p. 17 l. 1 r. *Feb.* 15. 1676. p. 27 l. 20. r. 1800000. p. 30 l. 1 r. *deference*. p. 43 l. 34 r. *Eng. Declaration* p. 48 l. 7 r. *claimed a power*. p. 67 l. 20 r. *obvious*. p. 74 l. 20 r. *as*. p. 75 l. 34, 35 r. *rigging and unrigging*. p. 79 l. 21 r. *these*. p. 85 l. 1 r. *that others had of practising*. p. 114 l. 5 r. *wink*. p. 115 l. 27, 28 r. *and the whole house*. p. 120 l. 8 r. *French Embassade*. p. 121 l. 23 r. *carrure*. p. 133 l. 28 r. *more then ordinary*.

FINIS.